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TROTTER REVIEW

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Diversity, Pedagogy and Higher Education: Challenges, Lessons and Accomplishments

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Introduction

by James Jennings

This is our first annual issue of the *Trotter Review*. The reader will notice that it is longer than previous issues. A major increase in the number and quality of articles submitted to the Trotter Institute for publication consideration, motivated a change from a bi-annual to an annual edition. We have also decided to formalize a refereed and invitational framework for selecting articles for publication due to the increased number of submissions. As the reader may know, the *Trotter Review* has utilized a thematic approach to each issue since 1991. This practice will continue since it allows the journal to have a major impact on dialogues about challenges facing the Black community in this nation. Another practice which continues with the inauguration of this annual issue is the balance between theory and praxis that has been reflected in earlier issues. We will continue to reach out to scholars and activists to write for the *Trotter Review*, but very importantly write in ways that facilitate the utilization of their knowledge and experiences for broad civic and professional audiences.

Our last issue focused on challenges facing the Black church in the United States and in other nations. The current issue focuses on challenges related to the advancement of racial diversity in higher education. The next annual issue will be devoted to challenges facing women of color who are involved with the economic development of their communities, both in the United States and other societies.

This issue of the *Trotter Review*, "Diversity, Pedagogy and Higher Education: Challenges, Lessons, and Accomplishments," reflects the thinking of a range of educators and activists who grapple with many facets of a complicated, and critical matter. And, that is, how do we ensure that knowledge, and the training and education preparation of our youth and society, especially in colleges and universities, is designed and implemented in ways that reflect the ideals of social democracy, and includes the experiences of all people as equally significant?

We begin this issue with an essay by Sheila T. Gregory who provides a summary of the concerns related to the lack of faculty diversity in higher education. She provides some description of the extent of this problem in U.S. higher education. The next article is a previously published excerpt from a book by Stephanie M. Wildman, *Privilege Revealed*. We decided to publish this particular article for the issue because the author indicates how higher education reflects a system of racial privileges for white people. This observation is an important one in thinking about how to improve the quality of higher education for all people.

The next article identifies some of the obstacles facing new Black faculty at institutions of higher education. Keith McElroy captures some of the experiences of, and pressures on new faculty that are unique to Black and other individuals of color. Thus, he helps to confirm the observations of Wildman in the previous section. The next article by Adrian K. Haugabrook identifies leadership as a key variable in determining the state of racial diversity on our campuses. This is followed by Runae Edwards Wilson's example of the unique kind of leadership styles of Black female college presidents. The article by Kofi Lomotey and his colleagues also focus on leadership styles. They identify two particular styles, that of "agitators" and "gatekeepers" and explain how the agendas of the former tend to be more comprehensive regarding the issue of racial diversity among the student body. This article is particularly useful in explaining the actions, or perhaps inactions, of leaders in higher education who seem to feel that the struggle for faculty and student diversity ends once people of color are admitted into the academy.

Despite the important victories that we have realized in U.S. higher education, as these articles illustrate, these accomplishments are continually challenged by interests that are threatened by the advancement of Black people and other communities of color, or are ignorant of the role of diversity as a key component of excellence in higher education. The next three articles by Olga M. Welch and Carolyn R. Hodges, Harry Morgan, and Robin L. Murray, provide a framework for understanding and analyzing how resistance to racial diversity is maintained in higher education.

The following articles share concrete examples and programs that respond to some of the challenges described above. Porter L. Troutman, Jr. shows how multicultural education can be achieved in higher education. This discussion is similar to Jamal A. Cooks' strategy for preparing teachers to teach effectively within contexts that reflect cultural resonance with diverse student bodies. The following article by Frances Y. Lowden reminds us that white teachers sorely need information and support in teaching Black and Latino children.

The articles by Joseph Meyinsee and Randy Lattimore focus on the effective pedagogy of mathematics. They remind us that even an issue like teaching mathematics to Black students is influenced by racial factors on the campus, and in the classrooms of our primary and secondary schools. And these factors are linked in determining the effectiveness of pedagogy. As many have already argued, the teaching of mathematics and science can be more productive in environments that reflect racial and ethnic diversity.

The last two articles, by Patiste M. Gilmore and Donald Brown respectively, discuss two other experiences of Black students on campuses of higher education. Patiste Gilmore revisits the issue of Black student athletes and academic achievement and offers a framework for improving the latter, without sacrificing the former. Dr. Brown provides some of his own insights about the role of the Black church and religious faith that is reflected in many experiences of Black students at predominantly

white universities and colleges. He points out that the issue of faith is a subject that should not be ignored in understanding the successes of some Black students.

It is my personal honor and pleasure to include in the Commentary section of this issue an interview with Dr. Clarence G. Williams of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Dr. Williams is a champion of commitment to racial and ethnic diversity in higher education, and is an individual who as folks might say with admiration and colloquially, "never forgot where he came from." Quietly, but powerfully and effectively, Dr. Williams has been a force for racial and ethnic diversity in higher education. We are honored by his participation in this issue of the *Trotter Review*. My appreciation to Dr. Harold Horton for conducting this timely and insightful interview.

I wish to thank the anonymous reviewers for assistance with some of the articles appearing in this issue, as well as the staff of the Trotter Institute who worked tirelessly for the success of this effort, including Ms. Muriel Ridley, Ms. Eva Hendricks, Dr. Regina Rodriguez-Mitchell, Dr. Harold Horton and especially Ms. Anne Gathuo, a doctoral student in public policy. Ms. Kimberly Moffitt, a doctoral candidate at Howard University provided some editorial assistance, while Dr. Stephanie Athey of Stetson University made important editorial contributions to the publication of this issue. Dr. Athey also worked closely with Dr. Horton and Ms. Gathuo to provide a conceptual framework for this issue. I extend my appreciation to all of these individuals.

James Jennings is director of The Trotter Institute and professor of political science at University of Massachusetts Boston. He is the author of a number of books, including *Blacks, Latinos, and Asians in Urban America* and *Race, Politics, and Economic Development: Community Perspectives.*

Faculty Diversity: Effective Strategies for the Recruitment and Retention of Faculty of Color

by Sheila T. Gregory

By the year 2000 one-third or more of the nation's population will be composed of African Americans, Hispanics, American Indians, Asians, and other minority and immigrant groups. It is expected that two-thirds of the nation's aging professorate will have to be replaced by the year 2000, and in the next century or two, women and minorities will out number non-minority men across the board. Unless more effective methods of recruitment and retention are developed, few persons of color will be likely to assume faculty positions in American colleges and universities.

According to the American Council on Education, the number of African-American students obtaining Ph.D. degrees has been declining over the past decade. For example, of the 36,027 Ph.D. degrees awarded in 1990, roughly two percent, or only 828 were earned by African-American graduate students. In 1990, 518 African-American and 161 Hispanic students received doctorate degrees in education, compared to seven and five in mathematics, four and two in computer science, and three and one in physics, respectively. Between 1981 and 1993, the number of doctoral degrees for African-Americans dropped from 3.9 percent to 3.2 percent, and rose during the same period for Hispanics from 1.4 percent to 2.0 percent.

Of the approximately 550,000 full-time faculty teaching in American colleges and universities, only 4.9 percent are African-American and 2.5 percent are Hispanic. Of African-American faculty approximately 44 percent teach in historically Black institutions. Thus, there is a serious under representation of African-American faculty at predominantly white institutions. The problem is especially acute at major research universities and at leading professional schools where only the most talented scholars tend to be appointed. The problem is worst in those academic areas where relatively few minorities have sought Ph.D.'s, specifically in the disciplines of mathematics, the sciences, engineering, architecture and the foreign languages. In 1993, the number of African Americans holding teaching positions in American colleges and universities were 37,056 as compared to 57,785 in 1996.[1]

A recent study found that among the nation's flagship state universities, only three had five percent or more Black faculty. The University of Maryland and the University of Mississippi both reported 6.6 percent and Rutgers University of New Jersey, 5 percent. Those institutions with the largest number of Black tenured faculty included Rutgers University of New Jersey which reported 5 percent, and the University of Maryland and the University of Michigan which reported 4.7 and 3.7 percent respectively.[2]

In the past few years, several studies have suggested strategies for achieving faculty diversity. Most of the research has focused on recruitment and retention efforts. Upon review of the literature, four common themes of faculty diversity efforts surfaced, including institutions with a strong commitment with the support of senior administration, strong faculty alliances, clear measurable goals, comprehensive plans to carry them out, and clear accountability with appropriate incentives.

Recruitment Strategies

Many institutions of higher learning who are committed to developing a more richly diverse campus have searched for effective methods of recruitment and retention of faculty. The list is lengthy but most fall into four major categories, including: increasing the numbers in the pipeline through college fairs, fellowships, and internships; ensuring the search process covers the entire pool; holding departments accountable for minority participation; and looking outside the traditional ranks to business, industry, and government. Some institutions hold the false belief that if someone wants a job, they will apply. But Robert Smith found that many of those who are exceptionally talented may be either not actively looking to move but would move for the right opportunity, or those who simply don't see the advertisement.[3] In addition, some African-American faculty women have been found to leave higher paying positions in private industry for the opportunity to teach where they can serve as role models and make a difference in the lives of minority students.[4]

In the past three years, five studies have been conducted on minority faculty recruitment. In the most recent study, Smith examined the academic labor market experiences of 393 Ford Foundation Fellows, Mellon Fellows, and certain Spencer Fellows who had recently completed doctorate degrees. A high response rate revealed that 70 percent were appointed to regular faculty positions or to postdoctoral positions (17 percent) in their fields. Of those in faculty positions, 92 percent were appointed to tenure-track positions or faculty positions at Ivy League institutions that did carry tenure. These studies contradict previous findings from other scholars.

Smith identified six discrepancies he termed "common myths" including: faculty of color are so few that institutions must compete in the hiring process; the scarcity of faculty of color in the sciences means that few are available and those that are available are in high demand; scholars like those in this study are only interested in the most prestigious institutions, making it virtually impossible for other institutions to recruit them; individuals are being continually recruited by wealthy and prestigious institutions with which institutions with less

resources cannot compete; faculty of color are leaving academe altogether for more lucrative positions in government and industry; and campuses are so focused on diversifying the faculty that Anglo men are at an enormous disadvantage. He concluded that institutions can raise the level of qualified candidates by improving the search and hiring process and by considering non-tenure alternatives.[5]

Robin Wilson stunned some in academe when she reported that colleges and universities which had made minority hiring a priority in the late 1980s were now recruiting fewer African-American scholars and were witnessing more of those leaving the campus, partly due to increased competition for African-American faculty.[6] The previous year Charles Wilson and Jerry Owens both explored strategies to improve minority faculty retention.[7] Wilson focused on strategies to improve minority faculty hiring procedures and made the following recommendations: listen to minority faculty's needs; establish strategies to prepare campuses for intellectual, social, ethnic, and cultural diversity; establish a staff conversion program to identify staff members in instructional support departments who may be interested in teaching; establish diversity programs in all divisions and departments; determine which universities have minorities in the pipeline by discipline and start early recruitment efforts; develop relationships with minority organizations to seek their assistance in identifying qualified candidates for faculty positions; develop minority candidate pools; include minorities in all phases of recruitment efforts; make efforts to keep minority faculty in the face of proposed budget cuts; have current faculty serve as mentors to minority graduate students at area universities; establish curriculum vitae banks; and establish summer teaching and research opportunities to interest minority graduate students.

Owens suggested similar strategies which included: keeping an open mind about credentials and recognizing the value of nonacademic experiences; include area minority professionals on search and interview committees; utilize minority media in recruitment campaigns; recruit through business and industry partnerships; keep candidate pools open until minority applicants are found; maintain dialogue and faculty exchanges with historically Black colleges; implement long-range programs that encourage minorities and women; and diversify the entire campus.[8] In contrast, Maurice Collins recommended establishing higher education partnership consortiums, visiting professorships and faculty exchange programs, providing provisions for housing and other benefits, establishing mentoring programs, and implementing fair practices regarding academic rank.[9] The appointment of minority faculty to short-term, interim, research, part-time appointments or as visiting scholars and lecturers have been shown to be good arrangements when full-time faculty appointments cannot be made.

Retention Strategies

Institutions can do a much better job of retaining minorities if they provide parity in pay, rank, benefits, tenure and promotion for faculty. Because tenure and promotion are so critical, it is important that faculty know exactly what is expected of them and have a fair opportunity to meet those expectations. Institutions should be aware of some of the common factors which impede minority faculty success. Among these are large teaching loads and committee assignments that keep faculty from research, the absence of research funding, lack of mentoring relationships, little value placed on teaching and community service, and the lack of recognition for research published in peer reviewed, but not refereed journals.[10]

In a 1995 study African-American faculty women consistently reported that they felt higher education, in general, had a shallow commitment to faculty diversity. Some faculty stated that they observed new minority faculty members being brought on board primarily to raise the numbers of compliance for reporting purposes rather than to be provided with real opportunities to become long-term members in academic departments. Perceptions of this kind are often validated by personal experience in academic environments and by high rates of minority faculty attrition. These experiences can be devastating to faculty morale.[11] In addition, Ronald Opp and Albert Smith argue that "a hire is of little value if that individual leaves in a year or so because of a chilly and unwelcoming environment."[12]

Owens suggested institutions follow four steps to retain faculty of color. He recommends they begin with a thorough orientation, promote collegiality, schedule diversity training and staff development programs, and incorporate minority faculty in decision-making and all facets of campus life.[13]

Dr. Alice Brown-Collins an African-American social psychologist and tenured professor at the University of Vermont observes: "For faculty of color, tenure is torture." Dr. Brown-Collins is an African-American social psychologist and tenured professor from the University of Vermont. "Whether they receive tenure or not, a very large percentage of Black and female academics find the tenure process bitter and traumatic....Because even if you get tenure, unless every vote was unanimous it means that now you get to spend the rest of your life with some people who thought you weren't good enough to be there."[14]

Suggestions for Academic Leaders

Today, there are still small numbers of minority faculty in the pipeline, a lack of role models, and a discomfort that some minority faculty experience on "majority" campuses. Minority faculty are looking for opportunities not only to advance their own careers with possibilities of growth and leadership, but to be a part of an institution that is strongly committed to the advancement and support of minority students. One of the major reasons for the failure of efforts to increase the numbers of minorities

in higher education is the lack of these factors and the absence of incentives and rewards.

Institution-wide commitments are essential to the success of any diversity effort. First, resources must be provided as incentives for compliance. Second, universities should reexamine mission statements and streamline programs to find the funds necessary to implement new initiatives. Third, executive leadership should clearly establish comprehensive plans and measure accountability to promote success. Fourth, colleges need to ensure that funds are devoted to meet the needs of qualified minority candidates, to see that they are provided incentives to join the faculty ranks, and that efforts are in place to make them feel part of the campus and surrounding community.[15] Fifth, recruitment must be accomplished in a systematic manner and retention be an on-going process. Finally, institutional leaders should keep in mind that faculty members of color have different personal histories, different cultural values, and different priorities that are often linked to the needs of the community. For example, many minority faculty tend to publish in professional peer reviewed journals that are not mainstream. These journals have a broader scope and are more willing to publish quality research on minority populations than refereed journals. Therefore, academic leaders should consider providing equal recognition for quality research published in professional peer reviewed journals in a faculty member's general area of expertise.

Achieving diversity is going to require major changes and the reallocation of resources. Academic leaders must be willing to improve the quality of life for all and ensure that each member of the campus community benefits. Institutions must also realize that the decisions they make today will likely have a profound effect on the future of their institution.

Any time a person is brought into a faculty, a statement is made about the future of that entire faculty. Anytime a person is hired, a decision is made about what the department believes, and values, its students. Anytime these strategies are used to assure commitment, build climate, and employ colleagues you have made a decision about what you believe education and our educational systems are supposed to be. Now is the time, some say past due, for us to make positive statements about our values and to express confidence in our future. The people we hire are how we build that legacy.[16]

Notes

[1]*Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* "Vital Statistics" 5 (Spring 1997), 175.

[2]*Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* "Black Faculty at the Nation's Flagship State Universities, 1996" 12 (Summer 1996), 15.

[3]Robert Smith, "Successful Recruitment of Minority Faculty: Commitment Culture and Choice," *Journal of the Association for Communication Administration* 3 (1994), 152-156.

[4]Sheila T. Gregory, *Black Women in the Academy: The Secrets To Success and Achievement* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1995).

[5]Daryl Smith, "The Pipeline for Achieving Faculty Diversity: Debunking the Myths," Association for the Study of Higher Education, 1996.

[6]Robin Wilson, "Hiring of Black Scholars Stalls at Some Major Universities," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 41, 38 (2 June 1995), A16.

[7]Charles Wilson, Development of Recommendations to Improve Minority Faculty Hiring Procedures at Kansas City Community College. (Ph.D. dissertation, Nova Southeastern Dissertation, October 1994); Jerry Owens, et al. "Bridging the Gap: Recruitment and Retention of Minority Faculty Members" in "Creating and Maintaining a Diverse Faculty," in William Harvey and James Valadez, *New Directions for Community Colleges*, 1994.

[8]Owens, et al. "Bridging the Gap," 1994.

[9]Maurice Collins, "Enrollment, Recruitment, and Retention of Minority Faculty and Staff in Institutions of Higher Education," *Action in Teacher Education* 12.30 (1990), 57-62.

[10]Gregory, *Black Women in the Academy*, 1995.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ronald Opp and Albert Smith, "Effective Strategies for Enhancing Minority Faculty Recruitment," *Community College Journal of Research and Practice* 18.2 (1992), 147-163.

[13]Owens, et al. "Bridging the Gap," 1994.

[14]Paul Ruffins, "The Shelter of Tenure is Eroding and For Faculty of Color Gaining," *Black Issues in Higher Education* 19-26, 16 October 1997.

[15]Barbara Gibson-Benninger and James Rateliff, "Getting and Keeping the Best Faculty for the 21st Century Community College," *Community College Journal of Research and Practice* 20, 2 (1996), 151-167.

[16]Smith, "The Pipeline for Achieving Faculty Diversity," 1996.

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The Dream of Diversity and the Cycle of Exclusion

by Stephanie M. Wildman

The racial transformation of society envisioned in Martin Luther King's dream has been an emotional and powerful ideal. That vision has gone through its own transformation: it was first described as "integration," then "affirmative action," and then "diversity" and "multiculturalism." As each of these phrases acquired negative connotation from reactionary, conservative backlashes, a new phrase has had to be invented to carry forward that transformative vision. Yet the cycle of exclusion that gives privileges to the dominant cultural status quo continues.

One place, close to home, where the dream of integration has not been fulfilled is in the cloistered halls of legal academia. This chapter singles out legal education to illustrate the dream of integration and the cycle of exclusion examining the small group dynamics that serve to maintain the dominant status quo. A description of the issues, as they arise in legal academia, provides an example that many lawyers, judges, and professors know well and portrays the complexity of the exclusionary dynamic.

The legal academy serves as the gateway to the legal profession. The academy and the profession remain primarily white and male; the gatekeepers to this still segregated domain are the legal academicians. The harm of segregation has been clearly recognized by modern judges. Judge John Minor Wisdom, the author of many leading desegregation decisions in the 1960s, described that harm as "[d]enial of access to the dominant culture, lack of opportunity in any meaningful way to participate in political and other public activities, [and] the stigma of apartheid condemned in the Thirteenth Amendment."[1] Another serious harm of segregation is that the dominant culture has no access to the insights of the segregated culture and does not even perceive this omission as a loss. The problems of denial of access, lack of opportunity, stigma, and lost insights have continued to surface as the struggle to achieve integration has continued on new battlefront with a different vocabulary.

Judge Wisdom recognized the importance of faculty integration in the desegregation of Southern schools. No less compelling is the necessity for faculty integration at the law school level if the legal profession is to be integrated.

Nondiscrimination is the law and a goal upon which all agree in theory. This chapter examines some of the obstacles to the attainment of that goal of nondiscrimination, using the example of law school faculty hiring. Antidiscrimination law requires "victims" who file charges against "perpetrators."[2] Yet the collegial etiquette of the academy (and of many other societal institutions) requires that accusations of discrimination not be made. Even if they are made, the deliberations leading to appointments and tenure decisions are cloaked in secrecy to protect academic freedom and collegial communications.

The discrimination plaintiff, however, must pierce the protective veil or lose her case: she must articulate who said what, when and for what purpose. Even with access to otherwise confidential files, the discrimination plaintiff may not be able to document the group dynamics that resulted in the tenuring or hiring decision. Group dynamics, which are rarely captured in written form, are hard to convey in the concrete details required for litigation. Yet these group interrelations operate as a subtext to any faculty hiring or tenure decision and can be characterized as a micro legal system.

Integrating the academy by lawsuits may be not only difficult, but also not as effective as less litigious approaches through voluntary action. Association of American Law Schools (AALS) president Herma Hill Kay reminded law school professors that three past AALS presidents have "stressed the importance and value to legal education of the commitment to achieving diversity among the faculty."[3] Kay's article described legal academia's faltering progress in recruiting and retaining professors who are people of color, women, gay, or lesbian.

Noting that members of these groups have suffered from a long history of exclusion and are entering a profession that has been "traditionally dominated by white men," Kay concluded that "those who have been the insiders must be sensitive to their unspoken assumptions about the newcomers. A commitment to diversity cannot succeed without the willingness to hear, understand, and accept their different voices."[4] Acknowledging that acceptance will not be easy, Kay reminded faculty that diversity will bring "intellectual richness" to legal education.

Kay's point that faculty diversity enhances the educational institution is important. Many view the goal of affirmative action, or diversity (as it is now often called in order to avoid the stigma associated with the term "affirmative action"), as one of aesthetic balance—we all need a person of color, a woman, or a gay or lesbian colleague, lest we look bad. But much more is at stake here than appearances or even our view of ourselves as nonracist, nonsexist, and nonhomophobic.

The reality of American democracy and the institutions within it is that social privileges are accorded based on race, sex, class, and sexual preference. Given the history of exclusion of women, people of color, gays, and lesbians to which Kay refers, some kind of institutional acting that is affirmative is required to overcome the effects of that exclusion. Proponents of equality must reclaim and relegitimate the notion of acting affirmatively to ensure our integration with all members of society and to end the perpetuation of the predominantly white, male, and heterosexual status quo.

This chapter seeks to tell stories about recruiting and retaining faculty members from nonmajority groups as they might really occur. While the incidents described are fictitious, any resemblance to real interaction on law school faculties is quite intentional.

Unwritten Rules

Walter O. Weyrauch has described law as a network of small group interactions in which basic characteristics of legal systems govern the interactions of individuals within small groups.[5] Paralleling law as a linking in large social group interaction, each small group has its own operating principles and generates, through its own group dynamics, proper rules of behavior for members in the group. Weyrauch studied the interaction of nine men who participated in a three-month nutrition experiment isolated in a Berkeley penthouse. He observed normative behavior that he described as the basic law or constitutional document of the group. This behavioral constitution expressed "some form of understanding based on shared ideals."[6]

The foremost canon of a group's dynamic is that the "rules are not to be articulated." This rule, that the group not identify and articulate its own rules, occurs on law faculties as well as in experimental groups. Although Weyrauch's work has been criticized for focusing on the group's own rule system—rather than on ascertaining internal effects of external rules—his study showed that the external social realities of racism and sexism affected the rules of the group. Weyrauch found ethnic prejudices within the context of group dynamics, even among a group professing to be "highly liberal about civil rights."

Describing some of the laws of this penthouse group, Weyrauch observed, "Equality of all persons is espoused, but women are not really treated as equal (rules 5 and 7); racial and religious discriminations are outlawed, but if they occur the fact of their existence is to be denied (rule 9)." The rules to which the above passage refers are rules of the particular group Weyrauch studied, not necessarily rules of all small groups. Nonetheless, in his group's unspoken rules that both espouse equality and deny the existence of discrimination, we see an example of the silence surrounding the systems of privilege that permeate our culture and the small groups within it. This silence about privilege ensures its perpetuation. Antidiscrimination law encourages this silence by not noticing the operation of privilege. Law faculties have further incentive to deny that discrimination has occurred to avoid liability in an employment discrimination suit.

To enter academia and advance in it, one must know the "rules of the game." It has been observed that "All institutions operate through a set of formal and informal rules....[T]he rules for entry into the profession are fairly straightforward....The rules for employment and professional advancement, however, are harder to define, varying with the kind of institution, the region, and the times."[7] The same can be said about law, since to become a lawyer and to enter the profession, one must pass a bar exam; but to become a law professor, the institution, region, and times affect the "qualifications."

The study of small group dynamics has important ramifications for hiring decisions generally and for law school hiring in particular. The dynamics of sex, race, and heterosexual privilege, which are social realities in contemporary America, interface with the rules of each faculty group as the hiring decision is made, but at a level so far beneath the surface that the decisions are insulated from review. The absence of procedural or constitutional protection for the hiring process, as well as the absence of hard and fast rules, make it particularly difficult to change the group dynamics or prove discrimination. The privileging of whiteness, maleness, and heterosexuality is the "rule" that exists outside the group and becomes incorporated into the group dynamic. Thus the legal doctrine is unable to adequately address the reality of the situation-the subtlety of discrimination and the deeply hidden levels on which it occurs.

The group dynamic of self-perpetuation predominates over any sense of urgency about the need for integration or diversification. The need to act affirmatively to change the status quo is not a felt need in the context of the group. For those in no rush, the legal doctrine's inability to reach the deep layers of group interaction is an advantage. Yet the metaphor of an ambulance, which breaks the law by traveling through traffic signals to render emergency aid, more aptly suggests the kind of response the legal system should take to privilege and discrimination in American society.

When law faculty talk about hiring, certain criteria and phrases are an acceptable part of the discourse, which ostensibly is about the qualifications of the applicant. No one wants to hire an applicant who is not qualified. And so participants in the discourse tacitly agree that the conversation is about evaluating qualifications and eliminating the unqualified.

But the conversation that is really going on is not at all about qualifications. The discussants are asking, "Will this person fit into our group, fit into our institution? Will this person change it in any way that will make me not fit, or hurt my place in the institution in any way? If someone comes who is not like me, will I still be valued at this place, at other places, or have other opportunities?"

"Mirror, mirror, on the wall, who's the fairest of them all?" We are all familiar with the fairly tale chant (can beauty be dark in this tale?). The queen is pleased as long as the mirror answers her question, "You, your majesty," but she flies into a jealous rage, when the mirror says, "Snow White."[8] When the "other" is named the most valuable, the dominant power self-destructs. At some subliminal level, do the culturally dominant fear that the introduction of difference represents their destruction, from either themselves or the outside?

Professor Derrick Bell has recognized this problem in his discussion of the tipping point issue; for the dominant group the presence of a few minorities is acceptable, but too many will tip the balance at which the dominant group feels comfortable. The hiring discourse tries to place someone on the scale to measure where that person will weigh in relation to the tipping point. Will the candidate really be one of the good old (implicitly white, male, straight) boys?

The faculty debate uses words in the discourse that involve qualifications; and one must answer in the words they have established for that discourse, rather than say, "She's okay; she won't hurt you." And so rather than speak the words that the group is truly worried about, we

argue about whether she is really qualified.

Group dynamics intersect with systems of privilege to tacitly reinforce the presence and power of those systems. Since we have no permission in the group dynamic to discuss even the existence of these systems, they inevitably remain. The dominant group retains its sense of entitlement to group leadership and its deeply held belief that the leader's vision of the world is the only correct one. The inclusion and recognition of multiple perspectives would provide some antidote to the dominance of systems of privilege within the group dynamic.

A Story about Tradition

We can examine these dynamics at work in the following scenario.

"Harold, what will it take to get your vote? I know you're a horse trader from way back." Jessica knew that her colleague appreciated a direct "cards on the table" approach to faculty politics. But what might he ask as a quid pro quo?

"There's nothing to horse trade," Harold replied. "You have no idea how upset I am at the prospect of losing Jared Daniels as a candidate for this teaching position. You know what I most care about is hiring the best possible candidate for this job." Jessica only half listened as Harold extolled the virtues of his candidate, who was, like Harold, a capable white man with a good academic record from a local law school and who had prior teaching experience. Jessica would have been happy to have him as a colleague; in fact, she would have preferred him to several of the men now on her faculty. However, there was only one job right now.

"At least," thought Jessica, "he's conceding there is a position." She reflected that many of her colleagues often emphasized how the law school must hire good people whenever a qualified white male candidate appeared on the horizon, but when the candidate was a person of color or a white woman, they questioned whether the school could really afford to hire anyone.

Jessica, a white woman, had been on the faculty appointments committee for fifteen years. She had been hired by Holmes College of Law, a well-known regional law school, in the early 1970s, along with an African-American man and a Latino man. The three of them had been the affirmative action hires. The trio all had outstanding credentials, in some cases better than those of the colleagues they were joining. That faculty had been composed only of white men. One woman of color, who had been hired some years earlier, had left. Faced with the prospect of being an all-white, male faculty, the school had realized that it should act affirmatively and had sought female and minority colleagues.

Since joining the hiring committee, Jessica had tried to be sure that the thirty-member faculty looked at other qualified people of color and white female applicants for available teaching positions. Now, fifteen years later, there were two white women on the faculty, besides Jessica, and one African-American man. The colleagues who had been hired with her had left for other institutions; one who had remained in teaching was at a Midwestern law school and one had become an appellate court judge. In that same period, five white men had been hired, in addition to the two white women and one minority man.

When Harold finished praising his candidate, Jessica said, "What about our need for affirmative action?"

"Sure," replied Harold, "I can see we need more conservative Republicans on this faculty; that view is under-represented here."

Jessica wasn't sure what to do. She could see this would be a losing battle. Should she try to explain to Harold that under-representation of women and minorities on law faculties was not the same thing as not having a Republican majority on the faculty? Would Harold be able to see that the Republican viewpoint was easily accessible to students everywhere in the American culture—in the news, on the radio? The mainstream culture was in no danger of being under-represented. It was the viewpoint of those outside that culture that was in danger of being unheard.

As she left his office, Jessica promised Harold to leave him a book review by Ursula K. LeGuin and said they would talk later.

The Majoritarian Culture

Ursula K. LeGuin has written,

> We human beings long to get the world under our control and to make other people act just like us. In the last few centuries, some of us—variously described as the White Man, the West, the Colonial Powers, Industrial Civilization, the March of Progress—found out how to do it. The result is that now many of us all over the world are eating hamburgers at McDonald's. Since other results include forests destroyed for pasture for the cattle to make the hamburgers, and oceans suffocated by waste products of making plastic boxes for hamburgers, the success of the White Man's control of the world is debatable, but his success in making other people act just like him is not. NO culture that has come in contact with Western industrial culture has been unchanged by it, and most have been assimilated or annihilated, surviving only as vestigial variations in dress, cooking, or ethics.[9]

This "tremendous process of acculturation" has affected law school culture and legal education as well. Although it is only a microcosm of the greater social issues LeGuin describes, legal education has reflected the same instinct to make other people act just like us, the "us" that makes up the majoritarian dominant culture. And we who are not part of that majority culture are affected by the time we spend in the institution and find ourselves playing roles that move us toward that mainstream.

The use of the term "diversity" is an acknowledgment that there might be some real value in not simply perpetuating the sameness of the forceful majoritarian culture. Yet the powerful human instinct that LeGuin describes, the need to control others and make them act

"just like us," creates a felt tension within some minds between the goal of diversity and the desirability of that goal. The majoritarian pull to make others act like us is powerful, conflicting with the goal of diversity.

Law itself mirrors the conflict between the need for uniform treatment of like situations and the need to do justice when like situations may not be exactly alike. In the arena of sex discrimination jurisprudence, argument about whether men and women should be treated alike, minimizing the significance of reproductive differences between men and women, has stirred debate. Broad legal acceptance of the view that equality means minimizing differences, termed the *assimilationist view*,[9] demonstrates that even in legal arguments the urge toward uniformity is powerfully felt.

In our culture, the image of the melting pot is forceful; it speaks to the powerful positive image that assimilation carries. The message to those outside the mainstream dominant culture is "Melt in with us, be like us, or fail to do so at your peril." Diversity is the antidote to assimilation because it includes a celebration of differences and recognizes the contribution of all. People need to act affirmatively to tell a different story, one that celebrates diversity and underlines that we have not all melted together, nor do we need to.

Opening the Door

Affirmative action in the U.S. Supreme Court has had an uneven history. But the Court dynamics in the first fully considered affirmative action case, in which Allan Bakke filed a lawsuit to gain admission to the Medical School at the University of California at Davis, revealed the kind of majoritarian elite decision making that has doomed the affirmative action debate. Bakke, a white man, had applied for admission and had been denied twice; he believed the reason was that Davis Medical School set aside sixteen out of one hundred admission slots for minority candidates.

The parties to the case were limited to the white plaintiff and the challenged institution. The voices of people of color, who might have wanted to support the program, were excluded and silenced, and Bakke won at the California Supreme court. The lone dissenter, Justice Matthew O. Tobriner, wrote, "There is, indeed, a very sad irony to the fact that the first admission program aimed at promoting diversity to be struck down under the Fourteenth Amendment is the program most consonant with the underlying purposes of the Fourteenth Amendment."[10] The purposes to which Tobriner referred were the eradication and remedying of past discrimination. Interestingly, the phrase "reverse discrimination," which was much used in the popular press to describe suits brought by white plaintiffs who felt harmed by affirmative action efforts, implicitly recognizes this first discrimination (i.e., against racial minorities) that the Supreme Court has declined to acknowledge by its ultimate refusal to accept the reality of societal discrimination as a reason for affirmative action.

Charles Lawrence has described the arguments before the U.S. Supreme Court as a "discussion among gentlemen." Archibald Cox, a white Harvard professor who represented the University of California, had been chosen over several Black attorneys whom minority groups had urged as the logical choice. Lawrence explains, "The regents wanted to make it clear that their lawyer represented the university and higher education and not the interests of minority groups." Cox used his role as part of the educational elite to create a kinship with the justices and to argue that the Court should trust universities to make appropriate admissions decisions without Court intervention. Thus even the oral argument implicitly recognized the existence of small group dynamics: Cox appealed to the justices' sense that he was one of them and that ultimately he was not working at cross—purposes to their best interest.

The opinion of the Court was divided, and Justice Lewis Powell played a pivotal role. Four Justices, Burger, Rehnquist, Stevens, and Stewart, interpreting the controversy narrowly, believed that Title VI[11] had been violated by the University's admission policy and that Allan Bakke should be admitted to the medical school.[12]

Justice Brennan, Blackmun, Marshall, and White believed that no equal protection or Title VI violation had occurred and that a race-based classification would not always be per se invalid.[13] These justices would prohibit a race-based classification that was irrelevant or stigmatizing, but they did not view remedying past discrimination as an irrelevant or pernicious use of race. This opinion pointed out that a race-based classification that disadvantaged whites as a group lacked the indicia of suspectness associated with a classification that disadvantaged Blacks. Classifications that disadvantaged whites did not exist in the context of a history of prior discrimination against whites; whites were not a discrete and insular minority; race-based classifications where relevant to remedy past discrimination; and the remedy, here the Davis plan, was crafted to avoid stigma against whites, the group Bakke alleged was hurt.

The Brennan group, rejecting minimum scrutiny equal protection review, articulated a test to review race-based classifications that was based on the "middle-level scrutiny" equal protection review that had been previously articulated in sex-based discrimination cases. First, the articulated purpose of an allegedly remedial racial classification should be reviewed; here the concurring justices said that remedying the effects of past societal discrimination was an acceptable purpose. Second, the Court should review whether the means chosen bore a substantial relation to that articulated purpose. Thus the Brennan group would ask whether the Davis Medical School special admissions program, which set aside sixteen out of one hundred spots for disadvantaged minorities, served an important governmental objective and was substantially related to achievement of that objective.

Powell, writing for the majority, was joined in part of his opinion by both groups of justices. He was the only justice to subscribe to the entire opinion, and his role, weaving a path between the disagreeing camps, enhanced his image as a mediator and facilitator on the Court. In his opinion, Powell rejected the notion of benign discrimination and the notion that there are majorities and minorities. He said that strict scrutiny should apply to all racial classifications and

that racial classifications could not be used as a remedy in the absence of a finding of constitutional or statutory discrimination by the appropriate legislative, judicial, or administrative body. This meant that the university could not decide for itself that it needed to remedy societal discrimination in its admissions policy. Powell rejected several of the university's arguments as to why, under strict scrutiny of the race classification, an important government purpose was being served that warranted upholding the classification. He did not find that the need to remedy the deficit of minority doctors, to remedy societal discrimination, or to provide doctors for underserved communities justified sustaining a racial classification.

But Powell did find that the final argument made by the University to support its special admissions program, the need for a diverse student body, was protected by academic freedom under the First Amendment. He concluded that "[t]he freedom of a university to make its own judgements as to education included the selection of its student body." Essentially Powell was telling universities across the nation to be more like Harvard and use race, if at all, as just one factor in admissions. But the significance of the message, delivered in this guise, is that acting affirmatively is permissible only if one does not do it too openly. Such a message legitimates the notion that it is not quite acceptable to engage in affirmative action, adding to the uneasiness that surrounds the ideal of diversity. And it further suggests that there is a limit to how much affirmative action is allowable. Finally, by grounding this apologetic endorsement of affirmative action in the First Amendment principle of free speech and academic freedom, rather than in the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantee of equal protection of the laws, the Supreme Court obscured the essence of equality at stake in the decision. Diversity, which is essential for equality, is a continuing component of democracy.

The Segregated Reality

Richard Chused reports that "[r]acial tokenism is alive and well at American law schools. About one third of all schools...have no Black faculty members. Another third have just one."[14] Chused also documents the "failure of a sizeable segment of law schools, including many of the highest stature, to hire substantial numbers of women." Chused's survey of the 1986-87 academic year showed that women composed 11 percent of tenured classroom faculty.

Chused identifies two excuses offered by racially segregated all-male faculties to justify the lack of racial and gender diversity at their institutions: 1) qualified applicants are unavailable, and 2) a slot or position is not available. Chused's study asserts that both of these excuses are "hollow," because enough faculties have achieved diversity to show that there are qualified candidates for faculty positions, and because turnover is high enough that positions will become available. He advocates that "commitment, devotion of time, willingness to confess error, conscious devotion to finding and using new methods for recruiting faculty, placement of existing women and minority faculty on hiring and tenure committees[, and] the use of substantial numbers of open faculty slots as targets for the fulfillment of openly stated hiring goals" be substituted for these excuses as a means of achieving faculty diversity.

Acting Affirmatively

Without affirmative action, we cannot ensure that our institutions reflect the ideals of equality, fairness, and equal opportunity that are part of our culture. Law professors are not unique in this society in holding divergent views about affirmative action. Law schools, as institutions composed of the individuals within them, are also not unique in society as places where the dominant cultural majority remains in control. Law schools, like other societal institutions, are composed of well-intentioned individuals, who, for the most part, genuinely want to be free of discriminatory attitudes. But as Charles Lawrence has pointed out in the area of unconscious racism—and his thesis holds for unconscious sexism or heterosexism as well—many acts done with the best intentions are still racist, sexist, or heterosexist not because we are bad people, but because we are products of the society in which we live. Thus, the cycle of exclusion is unwittingly continued.

Four objections are usually raised about affirmative action: 1) it violated the democratic ideal that mandates disregard of color, sex, or sexual orientation, 2) it undermines merit-based selection, 3) it is unfair to those who have not discriminated, and 4) it stigmatizes those it purports to assist. Each argument fails as a reason not to act affirmatively.

Opponents of affirmative action often argue that attention to the race or sex of an applicant reduces an individual to a single attribute, sink color, or sex, and that this process is the antithesis of equal opportunity. This argument is often voiced as, "I don't care if she's blue or green and from Mars, as long as she's competent." The point being made is that race or sex is irrelevant or should be.

One could imagine a society in which race and sex are irrelevant. In such a society we might or might not remember the race or sex of those we meet. But, as Richard Wassetrom has pointed out, that imagined culture is not this culture.[15] To say that today's world functions that way is to deny reality.

The race-and-sex-are-irrelevant argument is attractive because its proponents advance it as if it were not an ideal, but reality. We are asked to believe that the discrimination-free society is here and that to pay attention to race or sex would be to turn back the clock to the days before racism and sexism were eliminated. A moment's reflection makes it clear that we do not live in such a world. The argument is based on an attractive but false premise, that the nondiscriminatory future is now and that except for the occasional aberrant bigot or sexist, we live in a race- and sex-neutral society.

The second argument made against affirmative action is related to the myth of meritocracy and the fear that affirmative action will result in a lowering of so-called standards. According to this argument, finding qualified women or minorities is difficult or impossible, and standards must be maintained. To the extent that

affirmative action retains the meaning of giving special treatment on account of race or sex, opposition to affirmative action is powerfully ingrained in the mainstream of our culture. None of us want that special treatment; we want to be judged on our so-called merit.

Consider this riddle:

> A father and his son were driving to a ball game when their car stalled on the railroad tracks. In the distance a train whistle blew a warning. Frantically, the father tried to start the engine, but in his panic, he couldn't turn the key, and the car was hit by the oncoming train. An ambulance sped to the scene and picked them up. On the way to the hospital, the father died. The son was still alive, but his condition was very serious, and he needed immediate surgery. The moment they arrived at the hospital, he was wheeled into an emergency operating room, and the surgeon came in expecting a routine case. However, on seeing the boy, the surgeon blanched and muttered, "I can't operate on this boy—he's my son."[16]

How could this be? The answer is that the surgeon is the boy's mother. Although this is an obvious answer once the listener thinks about it, the point is that most people do not think about it or else they solve the riddle only after careful thinking. Most people's instantaneous reaction is to picture the surgeon as male.[17]

This riddle reveals societal default assumptions about merit—automatic, unconscious assumptions that channel our thoughts. Members of this culture have trouble seeing white women and minority group members as surgeons, lawyers, senior vice presidents, and law professors: the images society unconsciously associated with these words are male and white. The knowledge that white women and people of color can be surgeons does not help listeners solve the riddle, because the mind makes the culturally accustomed leaps without going through a rational thought process.[18] Present definitions of merit are context-based and shaped by default assumptions.

As to the unfairness affirmative action perpetuates toward those who did not discriminate, consider that we as a society pay for much that we did not personally do. Congress assisted Chrysler, even though all citizens did not mismanage the company. The societal good of inclusion of all its members is most pressing and warrants societal prioritization.

As for stigma, the stigma of being a woman or man-of-color law professor comes from society's default assumptions—a woman in front of the room does not look like Professor Kingsfield in *The Paper Chase*—and not from the existence of affirmative action. Affirmative action should be viewed in a positive light.

Notes

[1]United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education, 372 F. 2d 836, 866 (1966).

[2]For an explanation of the perpetrator perspective of antidiscrimination law, see Alan Freeman, "Legitimizing Racial Discrimination through Anti-Discrimination Law: A Critical Review of Supreme Court Doctrine," 62 *Minnesota Law Review* 1049 (1978), 1052-57.

[3]Herma Hill Kay, "President's Message—Beyond Diversity: Accepting Differences," *AAL Newsletter* (April 1989), 1, 1.

[4]Kay, 3.

[5]Walter O. Weyrauch, "The 'Basic Law' or 'Constitution' of a Small Group," *Journal of Social Issues* 27.2 (1971):49, 53, and 59. David A Funk commented on this finding: I frequently observe this rule operating at this law school. We do certain things, in fact, though we sometimes do not want to admit it. If someone identifies and articulates what we really do, the group may change its actions. Our prior rule of behavior has changed because we cannot face its articulation. Walter O. Weyrauch, "The Family as a Small Group," in David A. Funk, ed., *Group Dynamic Law: Exposition and Practice* (1988), 178.

[6]Weyrauch, 52.

[7]Nadya Aisenberg and Mona Harrington, *Women of Academe: Outsiders in the Sacred Grove* (1988): 41. The authors continue: "Further, in all places and times, there are rules emanating from a variety of sources – some decreed by tradition, others by the governing instruments of particular colleges and universities, still others by union contracts that have replaced the older system of professional norms promulgated as desirable standards by the American Association of University Professors."

[8]I am grateful to Charles Lawrence for first pointing out to me the connection between the mirror and affirmative action.

[9]Ursula K. LeGuin, "Feeling the Hot Breath of Civilization." Review of *The Storyteller* by Mario Vargas Llosa, *New York Times Book Review* (October 29, 1989), 11.

[10]Joel Dreyfuss and Charles R. Lawrence III, *The Bakke Case: The Politics of Inequality* (1979), 172–202.

[11]Title VI of the *Civil Rights Acts of 1964*, §601, US Public Law No. 88-372, #78 Stat. 252 (codified as amended at 42 U.S.C. §2000d [1982]). This document provides, "No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance."

[12]Regents of University of California v. Bakke, 438 U.S. 265 (1978) at 421 (J. Stevens, concurring in part and dissenting in part).

[13]438 U.S. at 349 and 356 (Brennan, White, Marshall, and Blackmun, concurring in part and dissenting in part).

[14]Richard Chused, "The Hiring and Retention of Minorities and Women on American Law School Faculties," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 137 (1988), 537, 539.

[15]Richard Wasserstrom, "Racism, Sexism and Preferential Treatment: An Approach to the Topics," *UCLA Law Review* 24 (1977), 581. But see Lucinda Finley, "Transcending Equality Theory: A Way Out of the Maternity and the Workplace Debate," *Columbia Law Review* 86 (1986), 1118. Finley states, "I sense that we will have lost something very fundamentally human in such a world of no "real" difference" (1139).

[16]K. C. Cole, "The Psychology of Affirmative Action." *Exploratorium Quarterly* (Spring 1986), 9 and 10. [quoting Hofstadter, "Default Assumptions." *Scientific American* (November 1982)].

[17]Ibid.

[18]Several anecdotal examples of default assumptions in action illustrate this principle. In a final exam in which I designated an elementary school teacher character as male, 50 percent of the class referred to the teacher as "she." On a different exam, with a different class, when I designated a basketball coach for a girls' team as female, 40 percent of the students referred to the coach as "he." Under the pressure of exam writing, students responded using their default assumptions. Recently my son came home from nursery school and said, "Mommy, the rabbi came to Shabbat today and told a story." A rabbi's visit was an unusual event—a first. I replied, "Was he good?" My son looked at me with a puzzled expression and said, "The rabbi was a woman." Default assumptions are powerful. They also show that there exists no we/they dichotomy from which any are exempt.

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Obstacles Facing New African-American Faculty at Predominantly White Colleges and Universities

by Keith McElroy

Many African-Americans beginning their first faculty appointment at predominantly white colleges and universities may be in for a surprise. They may be under the illusion that engaging in good publishing, good teaching, and to a lesser degree, good service will ensure their advancement to tenure. Although many authors have explained in detail the consequences of not publishing, few have focused on the obstacles involved in obtaining good teaching evaluations. In many instances, African-American faculty may find their teaching evaluations are based on students' personal opinions rather than on the professors' pedagogical approaches.

This essay will examine some of the obstacles new African-American faculty may face in obtaining good teaching evaluations, the lack of which can threaten their advancement to tenure. By drawing upon the author's own professional experiences, as well as that of others, the essay will illustrate that the issues raised here are not unique. This reality is one with which many professors must contend. It is only through open dialogue with African-American mentors that I am able to embark upon this discussion. It is my hope that discussion surrounding this critical issue in higher education will enable African-American first-year faculty to enter this profession aware of the obstacles to obtaining good teaching evaluations.

Perception is reality. This is a statement that most people in advertising or marketing would affirm. In terms of marketing, it means that how a consumer perceives a product is that person's reality. In other words, if a consumer sees a product as low-quality, then to that individual, the product is low-quality. Even if it really is not, that is the perception of the consumer. Perceptions are extremely hard to overcome, and they are not just limited to products. Many students at predominantly white colleges and universities have negative perceptions of African-Americans. African-American faculty should not be surprised that the biggest obstacle blocking them from obtaining good teaching evaluations is the result of the presence of self in the classroom. For the purpose of this article, *presence of self* will be defined as the existence of a professor's ethnic identity and cultural background. These factors alone could negatively influence classroom dynamics, and subsequently, students' evaluation of that professor.

Race and racial conflicts have both been defining elements of this country right from the beginning. Material abounds to support this assertion both from history and from contemporary social analysis. When African-American faculty enter the classrooms of predominantly white colleges and universities, they bring along their experiences and culture. These may be unfamiliar to many of the students in such institutions. It should not be surprising for the faculty therefore to find in their classrooms yet another venue for racial conflict.

From the empirical evidence of people who have been involved in providing instruction to students at predominately white colleges and universities, there exists in their classrooms racial dissonance. For example, Michele Foster, an experienced African-American professor who has been involved in providing instruction to students at predominately white colleges and universities, identifies racial conflicts in her classroom. In one example she writes:

> Who is this African-American woman, they ask, who demands that they come to class, defend their assertions, read the course material, and write with clarity and precision? Who is this African-American woman who refuses to acquiesce to their demand that a grade be changed merely because they question it? What leads this African-American woman to believe that she recognizes competent writing? In this regard, my very presence in the university classroom is a challenge to the ideology of who can be a source of authority in the classroom.[1]

Foster's findings speak to the issues regarding students' perceptions of who should have authority, who is competent, and what is acceptable behavior from a professor. She infers that her mere presence in the classroom influences how she is perceived as a professor by her students. Taking this in regard, some students at predominately white colleges and universities may enter African-American faculty-led classrooms with the perception that they will have problems with the professors. This self-fulfilling prophecy may become the basis of their evaluations.

On the other hand, some students may see African-American faculty members as both authority figures and as the embodiment of an established set of personality characteristics based on their ethnicity. White students may believe that African-American faculty members will use their authority to push unwanted changes on them. With this firmly entrenched in their minds, the students may selectively look for evidence that will confirm their assumptions. Students of color may tend to expect African-American faculty members to be a champion of their perspectives. When this does not occur, they may feel that they have been betrayed. Thus, despite African-American faculty person's competency in middle-class European-American academic conventions and discourse

practices, it may be the students' perceptions that form the basis of their evaluations.

The author's own teaching experiences have been almost entirely in predominantly white institutions. Over my years of teaching, African-American faculty members in these institutions have related many stories of racism on campuses and in classrooms. Some of the stories reflected real and subtle racism, and other times an incident might even be considered open to interpretation. The majority of experiences, however, were neither subtle nor open to interpretation. My personal experiences with racism are numerous, and I will recount a few of them here.

My participation in an African-American community has significantly influenced who I am. I have something of value to contribute to my students' understanding of science teaching methodology and this shows in my stance, poise, manner, voice volume and intonation as I teach. Most students at predominantly white colleges and universities have rarely encountered African-American faculty in an instructional setting. When they do encounter an African-American faculty member, these students may feel their very beliefs about African-Americans to be threatened by the professor's level of confidence. Students, therefore, have viewed this author's teaching style as arrogant and intimidating. This is evident in the following opinion expressed in one student evaluation:

> Dr. McElroy was not a good instructor. He intimidated the students in the class from the first day of the course. I understand that we need to have diversity in the classroom, but as an instructor it is not proper or right to subject students to sarcasm and ridicule. I understand that Dr. McElroy had a difficult childhood. That is not my fault. He needs to get on with life and learn to look forward not backward. I did not appreciate the way he talked to me when I approached him and asked for certain things.

Not only were the student's initial reactions negative, but they were based on stereotypes. For example, the inference that the professor's childhood was difficult is typical of the naive perceptions many students have of African-Americans. This student had no substantial background information with which to draw that conclusion.

In another instance, students' initial perceptions also predetermined whether they heard and understood what I said. One student stated it this way: "It was after talking with Keith four weeks into the course that I began to hear what he said." As the student put it in our informal conversation, "He said nothing different. He was saying the same things he had been saying all along in class. However this time, I started listening to him in class as a teacher (as opposed to an African-American)."

In the classroom, some students also question the African-American professor's competency. This is especially apparent when grading their academic work. It is clearly stated in my course syllabus that scientific language is important. To not use scientific language will result in the loss of points. Often, after an assignment is returned, some students who did not earn an "A" demand that their grades be changed because, as they see it, "They are A students." My refusal to change their grade usually results in protests to my superiors (i.e., the chairperson or dean). An anecdote serves to illustrate this point.

After a class in which I had returned a portfolio assignment to my students, cries rang outside my classroom: The professor doesn't know what he is doing! How can he dock us points for not using the right words? I'm an "A" student. I won't take this! This is supposed to be a science course, not an English course! The voices blended into a chorus: "Our professor can't teach."

Later that day, a group of students went to the chairperson of the department to complain about my grading. They complained about being marked down for not using the correct words to explain the processes of scientific inquiry. The students had used phrases such as, "to notice" and "to figure out." I corrected the phrases with, "to observe" and "to infer," respectively. The chairperson did not rush to criticize me. She understood the context of what I was trying to accomplish. I was conveying the idea that science has its own language, and that as future teachers, it was appropriate for me to flag their improper use of that language.

When teaching I strive to be consistent and actually do what I say I will do, whether it is giving back papers in a timely manner or whether it is in carrying out penalties for handing in assignments late. Many professors at the college level do not model the methodology they teach. For instance, one might be lecturing about the advantages of the activity approach to teaching science, but nonetheless conduct this lesson with a lecture approach. Many students have grown accustomed to this inconsistent behavior, and when faced with consistency, they react with anger. Consequently, some of my students become angry when I do not change a policy or methodology to fit their liking.

The observations presented here are meant to demonstrate the role that racial and ethnic stereotyping can play in classroom encounters and student evaluations of their African-American professors. In some cases, students' perspectives about teachers' performances are accurate. Could that be the case here, or is learned racism influencing those perspectives?

This discussion aims to open dialogue on precisely this question. The discussion will generate more empirical research and impact the evaluation practices within colleges and universities. Moreover, new African-American professors should realize how much the 'presence of self' influences pedagogy as well as teacher evaluations. As Foster concludes: this practice raises a number of issues for administrators, especially as universities start to place more emphasis on teaching in deliberations about merit, tenure, and promotion. Do

undergraduates respond to comparable behaviors of Black and white faculty members in a similar manner? Do they judge them in the same way? These issues are worth further investigation.[2]

Notes

[1]Michele Foster, "Strategies for Combating Racism in the Classroom," in C. P. Kottak, et al., eds., *The Teaching of Anthropology: Problems, Issues, and Religions* (Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing, 1996), 169-180.

[2]Ibid.

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Leadership for Diversity: Effectively Managing for a Transformation

by Adrian K. Haugabrook

Diversity has become a contentious theme woven throughout many different aspects of higher education. Multiculturalism, ethnic studies, women's studies, curriculum reform, strategies for increasing access and opportunity to the under-represented and under-served and improving campus climate have all been vehicles to promote and further diversity initiatives. Diversity stands to challenge much of what has been the traditional views of higher education. The efforts to promote multiculturalism and diversity have caused the academy and the enterprise of higher learning to introspectively examine and reexamine its values, beliefs and relationships to a much larger society. American higher education now sees itself in the midst of a changing world that is redefining both societal and economic needs. These changing needs have raised some unexplored and profound questions with regards to diversity. Why should higher education be concerned with issues of diversity? Who should be educated? What role should higher education take in educating a pluralistic citizenry? Must the aims and purposes of higher education be redefined entirely? In what ways does diversity significantly expand the body of knowledge in the academe? What are the implications for this expansion? What are the pedagogical and policy implications of diversity? And what of the even more idealistic question that higher education may be grappling with: can we change the world? These questions, as well as others, will continually be placed on the table for discourse by scholars, legislators, governing boards, students and citizens.

From the 1940s through the Civil Rights era and until the early 1980s, discourse surrounding diversity consisted of issues of access and preparation. But now, diversity issues have expanded to include inquiries alluding to pedagogy, the curriculum, campus and institutional climate, persistence and graduation rates of students, institutional structure, faculty composition and assessment, institutional leadership, funding and principle questions regarding institutional mission. It is not just an issue of student access and participation that is leading the discourse of diversity. All members of the campus community are now part of the discussion.[1] Diversity in higher education has become a very complex issue that has, in many regards, transformed the enterprise of American higher education. As Yolanda Moses points out,

> Campus leaders at all levels, including faculty, staff, and students, must work together to articulate a clear vision of what their institution would look like if cultural diversity were successful in enhancing diversity among students, faculty, staff, and governing body.[2]

American colleges and universities have always reflected the ideas, trends and concerns of greater American society and even more recently the global society. One of the most significant trends relate to population growth within the country. The original definition and use of the phrase "minority group" is losing its significance and applicability.[3] In 1991, Native Americans, African-Americans and Latinos collectively represented about 25% (61 million) of the total United States population—and the number is increasing. Within the next 20 years, Latinos will number approximately 47 million and African-Americans will rise to 44 million. The Latinos population will actually double in the next thirty years. With such staggering figures, higher education can expect to see an increase in students of color coming to college. But higher education must still answer the question of who should receive a higher education and by what means.

There are a number of negatives attached to being in a "minority group." The term minority often times connotes poverty, unemployment, crime and low educational attainment. But higher education has been embraced by many "minority groups" as a means to increase economic and social opportunities. This ideal is not new. What is higher education's role in such a dynamic nation? Higher education must continue to promote access and equal opportunity for all who seek its value. Higher education should be a right not just a privilege. Individuals should have the opportunity to make the choice as to whether they will attend college—or not. Regardless of who chooses, access should be provided.

Many institutions in America still sustain vestiges of discrimination. Affirmative action has been too short-lived and it is therefore impossible to assess what "good" it has accomplished. Thirty years of affirmative action compared to nearly 400 years of institutionalized racism and discrimination is not a fair comparison. Colleges and universities must examine what they do and how they do it and transform themselves into welcoming environments for all of its users. If higher education wants to be seen as an industry, it must connect with its current and potential customers. Higher education has the potential to be the only industry that can profoundly impact the entire livelihood of this country. It would provide a more educated and economically stable and prosperous citizenry. It can be accomplished by developing, implementing, redefining and evaluating access strategies.

Colleges and universities must also better define themselves as social institutions and clearly articulate their institutional mission. They must rethink who they are serving and how they are serving them. They need to ask themselves the question of who are they not serving and why. These are not simple questions and should not be treated as such. The focus of diversity has at times been

redirected to discourse about "those people" or "those ideas." Diversity is broader than that. Diversity has been a value of American life but it has not always been valued in American life. Higher education does and should continue to play a significant role in advancing the ideas, the people and the pedagogy. It is not merely reform in higher education that diversity warrants, it is a transformation. Higher education should be about truth, increasing the base of knowledge in all subjects and disciplines, providing a new brand of leadership, and educating new minds to exist and compete in a diverse and global community. Higher education as an enterprise must realize its assets, its short- and long-term investments, its options, its customers and its costs. If higher education fails as an enterprise, it will bankrupt the truth.

Colleges and universities should use the following strategies as tools to redefine and restructure—utilizing diversity as a theme. Many of these assertions have implications for institutional leadership, for leadership that proposes to be transformational and transactional. Leadership is transformational in the sense that leading for diversity stands to change the culture and traditions, values, symbols, language, and systems of how an institution lives. Leadership that is transactional addresses the internal needs of an organic and dynamic organization.

Define (redefine) institutional commitment to diversity. Diversity as a definition is quite organic. It is an evolving term that reflects the social, economic and political demography of this country as well as the world. Diversity is not solely about issues of race and ethnicity. Today, it is about an assortment of various experiences including gender, sexuality, religion, socioeconomic status, ability, learning styles and age. Because of the dynamic nature of diversity, institutions need to clearly articulate what influence diversity has on the institution and in what ways diversity should be reflected through the institution. There needs to be an institutional commitment once these answers have been determined.

Promote access, quality, and diversity as a package. Institutions seemed to have separated these three terms into mutually exclusive (distinct) and unrelated items. If these terms continue to be articulated as distinct then the interpretation and perception by others will support this notion. Higher education as an enterprise needs to create language that promotes the positive aspects of access, quality and diversity. In other words, one quality does not exist to the detriment of the other two. All three qualities should be viewed as interrelated and not mutually exclusive.

Evaluate institutional and departmental missions with regard to diversity. Institutions should set new standards and expectations through institutional mission, policies and procedures and organizational culture. A true measure of institutional and departmental effectiveness is based on the relationship a particular program or service has to its institutional mission. If there is an institutional commitment to diversity and it is clearly articulated within the framework of the mission, then all outputs should be assessed and evaluated based on one or more diversity criteria. This process assumes that active leadership, properly designed assessment and evaluation strategies and well-defined and communicated institutional goals are available. Policies and procedures should be developed and continuously reviewed to ensure expectations are being met at all levels. The unfaltering review of protocol sets precedence and gives assurances that diversity is and will continue to be a measure of excellence for the institution. The culture of an institution will subsequently change as a result of the redefinition of its mission and development of expectations that reflect institutional commitment to diversity. It becomes a culture that will continue to grapple with the complex issues of diversity while continuing to truly embrace diversity.

Institutionally, speak a common language; define diversity through consensus. An institution must be able to understand that all of its constituencies affect and are affected by diversity. A comprehensive institutional plan should be drafted to provide guidance and leadership for attainment of a truly diverse community. Leaders must realize that even though there may be a common set of goals, there may be a plethora of voices espousing ideas and methods that may be different. Leaders should qualify these varying views as a strength not as a weakness.

Understand the historical and philosophical context of access and diversity. It is important that all constituents understand the historical aspects of diversity, particularly from the perspective of access. Understanding in the historical context helps proponents to better articulate the direction an institution should take as it seeks to achieve diversity. Diversity is complex in nature and historical and legal perspectives provide a firm foundation in which to build understanding and hopefully consensus. As institutional leadership becomes educated about diversity and promotes education of the history of diversity, care must be taken not to alienate those who may already feel marginalized by the issue. Those on the margins are not just people of color but are also people who do not feel they have any association with the past or affiliation with the current discourse on diversity. They may be intimidated by the language and complexity of diversity and therefore, may be unwilling to engage in the attainment of a diverse institution.

Realize that diversity is inclusive not exclusive. An institution must refuse to "ghettoize" diversity by proclaiming that it only serves the interests of people of color. The benefits of diversity and diversity initiatives should serve the entire institutional community. The discourse on diversity has broadened and so should its interpretations on each campus. Campus leadership should not deny the fact that diversity exists on their campus no matter how monocultural the campus may appear to be. If for no other reason, diversity should be seen for its educational value and its ability to assemble divergent ideas, beliefs and perspectives in a common venue—the campus. Identify advocates and dissenters. Too many advocates may inspire "group think." The true practice of diversity will ensure that there is even diversity amongst the advocates. Sharing the table with dissenters is not only

respectful but crucial. Dissenters not only introduce different perspectives but may eventually become supporters. Dissent makes a strong argument even stronger.

Realize that divergent views contribute significantly to a growing body of knowledge. The very essence of education in general and higher education specifically is the ability to inspire critical analysis. How critical can analysis be when there is only one perspective promoted? How does one gain a comprehensive view of American literature if writers of color are not included? How can researchers make attempts at explaining current social issues if disparate views are not included in the discussion? As diversity is realized, knowledge as we know it is increased. Difference is not necessarily disagreement; instead, it should be seen as an attempt at explaining what is perceived as reality from another person's situation.

Continually provide information and resources for the community. The institutional community expands when diversity is fixed as an active part of the institutional mission. Not only does diversity serve the institution but, it serves the local, state, national and perhaps, the international community. Diversity affixes a "face" to complex issues that people in these communities would otherwise feel have no relevance to their livelihood. Promoting institutional diversity is congruent with a campus' mission to serve the community in which it resides. Financial, human and physical resources could and should be tapped by the different levels of community in attempts to research, educate, and problem-solve. To paraphrase Indira Karamcheti and Charles Lemert, "The conflict and opposition between quality and diversity is a false one. In order for institutions to be high quality, they must use diversity as a part of their definition of excellence."[4] Diversity is a true measure of quality and excellence and until our language, organizational structure, leadership practices, and institutional constituencies reflect these new measures, higher education will struggle behind a society that continues to grow exceedingly diverse—in all the ways diversity is defined.

Notes

[1]See Daryl G. Smith, Lisa E. Wolf, and Thomas Levitan, eds., *Studying Diversity in Higher Education: New Directions for Institutional Research* # 81 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1994).

[2]Yolanda Moses, "Quality, Excellence, and Diversity," in Daryl G. Smith, Lisa E. Wolf, and Thomas Levitan, eds. *Studying Diversity in Higher Education: New Directions for Institutional Research* # 81 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1994).

[3]Manuel Justiz, Reginald Wilson, and Lars G. Bjork, eds. *Minorities in Higher Education* (The Oryx Press: Phoenix, 1994).

[4]Indira Karamcheti and Charles Lemert, "From Silence to Silence: Political Correctness and Multiculturalism" *Liberal Education*, vol. 77 no. 4, September-October 1991, 14-18.

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African-American Female College Presidents and Leadership Styles

by Runae Edwards Wilson

The leadership characteristics of African-American female college and university presidents have rarely been studied. The lack of research in this area is due, in part, to the absence of African-American females in leadership positions at four year higher education institutions. A contributing factor to the shortage of African-American female top level administrators is the "double whammy," or belonging to two groups that are discriminated against, African-Americans and females.[1] The wage gap, institutional kinship, the old boy system, and role prejudice (a preconceived preference for specific behavior by the visibly identifiable group) are factors that have proved prohibitive to the ascension of African-American females to leadership positions in higher education. Furthermore, researchers that have studied the leadership characteristics of African-American female college and university presidents generally suggest that these women adopt the leadership characteristics of the culture at the institution where they serve.

In one study, Martha A. Alexander and Barbara M. Scott found that women in their study reported that the higher education system was both racist and sexist.[2] Regardless of this kind of social climate, however, African-American females have a history of endeavoring to succeed in higher education. This history dates back to the 1800s when the first African-American female completed a college degree in America and graduated from Oberlin college in 1862.[3] Recently some African-American women have managed to climb to the top of the higher education academic ladder and become college presidents. These women have been described as nurturing productive attitudes, maintaining a circumspect image in both demeanor and dress, professionally displaying technical and interpersonal competence and effectively generating and using professional contacts.[4] Many of the leadership characteristics that these women display correspond to the formal categories that researchers have identified in the field of leadership theory and education.

Leadership Theory and Higher Education Leadership Theory

There are several different leadership theories associated with organizations. In the early 1900s researchers studying organizations began to focus on the roles of individuals within the organization. Social scientists began to study the role of the manager or leader in organizations. These researchers developed categories of behaviors for leadership. They used many terms identified by scientists studying organizational development to define leadership styles or behaviors, i.e., democratic or participative, human relations, authoritarian, and laissez-faire.[5]

In a study at the Ohio State University the researchers focused on consideration and initiation or structure. These terms were defined as follows: *Consideration* includes behavior indicating mutual trust, respect, and a certain warmth and rapport between the supervisor and his or her group. This dimension appears to emphasize a deeper concern for group members' needs and includes such behavior as allowing subordinates more participation in decision-making and encouraging more two-way communication. *Structure (or initiation)* includes behavior in which the supervisor organizes and defines group activities and her or his relation to the group. Thus, the supervisor defines the role he or she expects each member to assume, assigns tasks, plans ahead established ways of getting things done, and pushes for production. This dimension seems to emphasize overt attempts to achieve organizational goals.[6] These dimensions of leadership, as defined by Edwin Fleishman and the Ohio State University researchers, are germane to the analysis of leadership styles used in this paper.[7] Leaders display the characteristics and behaviors of these dimensions to varying degrees, being high in consideration and low in structure or vice versa.

Other researchers such as Estelle Bensimon and Anna Neumann worked with college and university presidents. They found distinct differences between male and female leadership styles. Their Institutional Leadership Project related various theoretical models of leadership to higher education leaders.[8] Although their work helped to further define and refine the characteristics of leaders, their research did not refute the findings of the Ohio State University research team. The democratic or participative, human relations, authoritarian and laissez faire leadership styles remain the basic models.

The Study of African-American Female College Presidents' Leadership Styles

This study investigates the patterns of leadership displayed among African-American female college and university presidents and identifies their leadership styles. The methods used are qualitative and include interviews, document analysis, and a survey. In this research the specific leadership classifications established by the Ohio State research team and by Edwin Fleishman in his Leadership Opinion Questionnaire (LOQ) are used to identify the leadership patterns of the presidents.[9] Fleishman's classifications are augmented by the expanded theoretical models presented by Bensimon and Neumann.

Letters were sent to each president to solicit her participation. Prospective participants were asked to offer biographical statements or vitae, to complete a leadership opinion questionnaire and to be interviewed by telephone for thirty-five to forty-five minutes. Additional written information about the presidents was gathered from books

written by the presidents, newspaper articles written about the presidents and/or their institutions, and correspondence between the presidents and the researcher. Background information on the institutions in which the presidents served was also collected from the institutions and sources such as the State Education Department Reports, institutional reports and newspaper articles. College catalogs and college guides were the major sources for this information.

The Fleishman questionnaire was used to assess self-reported leadership beliefs. This instrument yields additional data about the president's leadership concerning two major factors: structure and consideration. The LOQ is a forty-item questionnaire. There are twenty items in each scale; therefore, the maximum possible score is 80 (20x4) on each scale. The questionnaire was administered to the participants by mail.

Findings

Age. Data collected about age helped to relate this research to other studies about American college presidents. The participants' average age was over fifty-seven years old, with twelve, the largest number of presidents, being fifty-nine. An age of fifty-nine years is consistent with the respondents' years of experience in higher education before becoming president. Prior experience usually included faculty positions in departments and administrative positions in academia. According to these finding, the average age of respondents in this study was three to five years older than the fifty-four year average age of their white male counterparts.[10] The difference between the average age of African-American female college presidents and white male college presidents suggests that it might take longer for women to climb the professional ranks to a college presidency. This finding is consistent with the result of the 1985 study conducted by Judith Touchton and Donna Shavlick. In their study of female college presidents, they found that 38% of their sample was between fifty and fifty-nine years old.[11]

Economic Status. The findings regarding economic status indicate that adverse financial circumstances during the participants' childhoods had not deterred these presidents from achieving success in their careers. Motivation and assistance from benevolent groups or individuals were significant factors in the success of these women. Additionally, several presidents are described as being a part of the African-American middle class. A biography noted that one president's family were friends with African-American scholars like Mary McLeod Bethune.[12]

Campus Settings. A startling finding is that many of the African-American female presidents studied are or have been presidents in the southern region of the country. This is a larger number of presidents than in any other single region of the country. Twenty women were also born in the south; this fact is consistent with population data which show 56% of African-Americans live in the south.[13] Over 70% of the presidents were located on campuses in urban settings. This figure is above the national average of campuses located in urban settings—28.4% according to *Peterson's Register of Higher Education*.[14] In this instance most of the African-American college and university presidents are located in areas where the largest numbers of minority students are located as well. Several other factors at the institutions were similar to national norms reflected in *Peterson's Register* or *The African-American Education Data Book*. Most of the institutions (81%) had a semester calendar system. The enrollment for 56% of the institutions were predominantly co-educational, and at 93% of the institutions—both single-sex and co-educational—the majority of the students enrolled were female.[15]

Leadership Orientation. The terms that the presidents used to describe what leaders do included: create, plan, motivate, and empower. Success as a leader often depends on how well an individual can judge and balance these varied characteristics. These presidents saw their own roles as leaders to include these characteristics and to include work on conflict resolution, governance, public relations, and race and gender issues as well. These findings were in keeping with the research of Bensimon and Neumann, and of Alexander and Scott.[16]

In comparing this kind of leadership orientation, the Fleishman survey was utilized, although this instrument does not offer normative tables for college or university presidents. Consequently, the normative tables for CEO's or "presidents and vice-presidents" presented in the examiner's manual were used for comparison. The comparison revealed that this study's sample of college and university presidents had similar scores to Fleishman's sample. The college and university presidents average score for structure was 49.83. Fleishman's average score for presidents and vice-presidents was 49.05. For the variable consideration the scores were also similar. Fleishman's average score was 53.78, and the average score in this study was 56.83. This finding would suggest that the African-American female college and university presidents who completed the LOQ were not oriented more toward consideration or toward structure than are men or women at comparable administrative levels. The results of the LOQ indicate that the women who completed the instrument were highly similar to Fleishman's normative samples. These women did not have higher scores in the area of consideration, although most describe themselves as consideration-oriented leaders.

Conclusions

This overview and accompanying study shows that African-American women have, and do successfully hold leadership positions in American colleges and universities. Their backgrounds are highly varied, and collectively they represent years of experience in higher education. The presidents' self-reported leadership style is participatory and team-oriented, in keeping with previously reported research; the results of the LOQ do not refute that finding. Furthermore, the results of the LOQ do support the normative scores reported by

Fleishman for administrators at similar levels of responsibility. Several findings also support previously reported nationwide norms regarding higher education. The replication of findings from other studies which measured the same qualitative traits measured in this study suggests the techniques used in this study are valid and reliable for collecting data about leadership characteristics.

The number of references to minority concerns in the written works of the presidents implies a knowledge of and consideration for minority issues. The institutional concentration of African-American female presidents at historically Black colleges and universities or urban environments where there are large concentrations of minority groups is something that should be investigated further, especially if it might be related to past or present discrimination.

Final conclusions demonstrate that the presidents in this study were met daily with unpredictable situations: earthquakes, fires, student protests, and strikes. They work in urban, suburban, and rural environments, in historically Black, traditionally white, and predominantly white institutions. A general approach or personal orientation is apparent in all the women of the study; however, no single leadership style could be said to characterize this entire group of women. But the findings also support the assumption that African-American women have a self-reported participative leadership style. A further assumption can be made that their leadership style is also different from the leadership style of men whose self-reported leadership style tends to be directive.

Notes

[1]Martha Alexander and Barbara Scott, *The AICC Perspective of Career Management: A Strategy for Personal and Positional Power for Black Women in Higher Education Administration* (Houston, TX: Annual Conference of the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors, 1993).

[2]Ibid.

[3]Elizabeth Ihle, *Black Women in Higher Education* (New York: Garland, 1992).

[4]Alexander and Scott, *The AICC Perspective of Career Management*, 1993.

[5]Ethan Lawler, *Motivation in Work Organizations* (Monterey, California: Brooks/Cole Publishing, 1973).

[6]Ibid.

[7]Edwin Fleishman, ed., *Studies in Personnel and Industrial Psychology* (Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1967).

[8]Estelle Bensimon and Anna Neumann, "Higher Education and Leadership Theory," in M. Peterson, Ed., *Organization and Governance in Higher Education, 4th Edition* (Needham Heights, MA: Ginn Press, 1991), 388-89.

[9]Fleishman, 1967.

[10]*The American College President*, 1993.

[11]See Judith Touchton and Donna Shavlik, "Women as Leaders," in Donna Shavlik and Judith Touchton eds., *Leaders for a New Era: Strategies for Higher Education* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1988), 118-136 and "Leadership at the Top: Women Presidents in Public Four Year Institution," in J. Sturnick and J. Milley eds., *Women at the Helm: Pathfinding Presidents at State Colleges and Universities* (Washington, D.C.: AASCU Press, 1991), 5-15.

[12]Maxine Seller, *Women Educators in the United States 1820-1993, A Bio-Bibliographical Source Book* (Westport Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994).

[13]Michael Nettles, *The African-American Education Data Book* (Fairfax: Frederick D. Patterson Research Institute of the College Fund/UNCF, 1997).

[14]*Peterson's Register of Higher Education* (Princeton: Peterson's Guides, 1997).

[15]See *Peterson's Register of Higher Education*, 1997, and Nettles, *The African-American Education Data Book*, 1997.

[16]Bensimon and Neumann, "Higher Education and Leadership Theory," 1991, and Alexander and Scott, *The AICC Perspective of Career Management*, 1993.

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African-American Enrollment and Retention in Higher Education: An Application of Game Theory

by Kofi Lomotey, Mwalimu J. Shujaa, Thresa A. Nelson-Brown and Shariba Rivers Kyles

This study is a qualitative analysis of perceptions of institutional commitment to the enrollment and retention of African-American students at one institution. The study, which was funded by the Spencer Foundation, was conducted at Oberlin College and is based on 31 interviews of students, faculty, administrators, and staff.[1] At many predominantly white campuses, low enrollment and poor retention of African-American students is a present and escalating problem. However, Oberlin College has unusually high enrollment and retention rates for African-American students. We wanted to explore the possible reasons for this uniqueness. We relate our findings to the process of constructing theories that explain some of the characteristics of Oberlin's organizational culture.

Oberlin College

Oberlin College is located in Oberlin, Ohio (population 8,600), 35 miles southwest of Cleveland. The College was founded in 1833 by the Reverend John J. Shipherd and Philo P. Stewart with the support of Charles Grandison Finney. In 1835, the Oberlin Board of Trustees stated "the education of the people of color is a matter of great interest and should be encouraged and sustained in this institution."[2] By 1900, one out of every two African-Americans who had graduated from a predominantly white institution had earned their degree from Oberlin College.[3] Carter G. Woodson, the African-American historian, said of Oberlin: "[it] did so much for the education of Negroes before the Civil War that it was often spoken of as an institution for the education of the people of color."[4]

By the late 1960s and early 1970s African-American students started to enroll in many other colleges and universities. This unprecedented competition created problems for Oberlin, but did not deter the school. In 1972, Oberlin's faculty voted to *admit* 100 African-American students each year. In 1976, they revised their vote to say that they would *enroll* 100 African-American students each year. Since the late 1960s Oberlin has furthermore offered an impressive array of support services for African-American students. These include support for the Black Studies Department and The Afrikan Heritage House, Oberlin's African-American student dorm which also serves as the cultural center for the African-American community, both on and off of the campus; Abusua, the college's African-American student association; and Student Support Services, which though a campus-wide service, provides focused support for African-American students.

As a result of this approach, as well as its commitment to high intellectual standards, a liberal education, excellence in teaching and a social and moral understanding of one's responsibilities, for the past twenty years, African-American students have represented approximately 12% of each year's entering class. In 1983 it was reported that for students who enrolled at Oberlin between 1968 and 1977, the overall combined retention and graduation rate was 70 percent. The combined retention and graduation rate after six years for African-Americans who enrolled at Oberlin in 1977 was 77 percent. As of 1986, the combined retention and graduation rate for other classes at Oberlin were as follows:

Year of Enrollment	Combined Retention and Graduation Rate
1978	53% (after eight years)
1979	74% (after seven years)
1980	51% (after six years)
1981	47% (after five years)

The Study

Three premises undergird this research. First, Oberlin has an historical commitment to African-American students. A cursory reading of literature pertaining to the college uncovers clear evidence of this long-standing commitment. Second, Oberlin's history as it regards African-American students is unique. The fact that at the turn of the present century half of all African-American students who had graduated from predominantly white colleges and universities did so from Oberlin attests to this observation. Third, Oberlin has enrollment and retention rates for African-Americans that place it far above the crowd. Its enrollment rate is more than double the national average and the same is true for its retention rate.

Three questions guided the data collection: 1) To what extent do people at Oberlin College perceive an organizational commitment to the enrollment and retention of African-American students? 2) To what extent is Oberlin's organizational commitment a part of the ethos of the college? And, 3) To what extent do people at Oberlin College relate the organizational commitment to the college's history, or to pressure from advocates or to both?

The sample was composed of eight students, eleven faculty, six staff and six administrators. The six staff people interviewed were from Student Support Services, Afrikan Heritage House, and Admissions. Eight African-American students were interviewed—two randomly selected from each class (i.e., first-year, sophomore, junior and senior). We interviewed all of the African-

American faculty, for a total of seven; five of these were in Black Studies. We randomly selected and interviewed an additional four faculty members from the college. Finally, we interviewed six administrators in financial aid, student services, and enrollment planning.

We developed separate interview instruments with open-ended questions for students, staff, faculty, and administrators. Generally, the questions fit into seven categories: campus climate, Black Studies, support services, admissions, retention, financial aid, and the larger community. Each category of respondents was asked to respond to a different, though similar, set of questions. The instruments were piloted with students, staff, faculty, and administrators at a university in western New York and appropriate changes were made prior to conducting the actual study.

Our research employed a grounded game theory approach to the analysis of the data as described by Anselm L. Strauss in 1987.[5] Our strategy began with open coding which reduced the data by identifying all statements regarding perceptions of Oberlin's commitment to African-American students (Premise 1). We used axial coding to classify *patterns of perceived institutional commitment* and *strategies for enrollment and retention* of African-American students. The next level of coding was selective coding which enabled us to do more in-depth analysis to determine if Oberlin's commitment was perceived as an attribution of the college's history, the pressure of advocates, or both. This final level of analysis was employed to determine the degree to which the perceptions of organizational commitment were shared across roles (i.e., by students, administrators, faculty and/or staff) and the extent to which the organizational commitment was a part of the ethos of the college.

Game Theory

Game theory is helpful in attempting to understand the behavior of rational beings involved in a conflict situation. It can, at times, be used to explain how they maneuver to protect their interests.[6] Game theory can be summarized as the collection of games that are played by groups or coalitions within organizations for different reasons and the loose linkages between those separate games. Organizational policy, therefore, is the by-product of game interaction and the residual relationships that result from this process. Organizational policy is not a unified rational, and goal driven system.

No single group is responsible for the organizational ethos or operational policies that result from the interactions of "interests" within an environment. Ultimately the policies and organizational ethos reflect a compromise that is optimal for all groups involved in the competition for scarce resources. The perspective of the players involved is short and no one group sees the whole picture, therefore the ecology of games includes components of specialization, cooperation, and interdependence. There are usually several games being played within an organization each possessing its own structured competition, with its own rules, winners and losers that relate to distinct audiences.[7]

Applications of game theory can be found in educational policy development and the research linked to it and in determining what research is validated by the academic community. It would benefit all researchers who examine coalition formation and policy generation processes to understand the purpose, focus, and audience with regard to game theory application.

Preliminary Findings Using Game Theory: Agitators and Gatekeepers

Preliminary analysis of the data suggests two key constituencies on the Oberlin campus to whom we refer as "agitators" and "gatekeepers." Agitators are those individuals—faculty, students, staff or administrators—who go beyond supporting the increased enrollment of African-American students. They advocate increased enrollment and *retention* of African-American students. An African-American administrator reported:

> From the admissions end, I would say some of the measures are unlike many other institutions. We don't begin by looking at those quantitative data, for example, like test scores. We start with other kinds of things....Has the student anything in his or her profile that demonstrates that he or she grappled with some problems and stuck with it? Is there a sense of the student knowing self and sort of having that upward mobility? We look at all of those things first and then try to determine can this student survive in an academic environment like this. Then we will look at the test scores. Using those kinds of measurements, we are not holding something like a test score...over their heads and we aren't using that as a bias before looking at the whole profile.

There is a clear commitment to the enrollment of African-American students here. But the agitation strategy includes a commitment to retention also. Here an African-American staff person describes her perceptions:

> More Black students, in my opinion, are holding Oberlin accountable in terms of what they have said historically—that they are into retaining and matriculating students. And students say fine, if that's what you are saying then I see the numbers coming in but I don't see you doing anything for us. This is what we want done. I see them being more vocal.

This reflects a perceived commitment, beyond enrollment, to include retention. It reflects the agitation role of students.

The gatekeepers on the other hand, mostly administrators and faculty, are committed primarily to the enrollment of African-American students. Describing her perceptions, an African-American staff person said:

"Historieally, Oberlin appears to be aetive in *recruiting* Afro-Amerieans students." A white administrator deseribed the behavior of the eollege's board of trustees: "I think at the last board meeting there were three or four board members who raised questions about how were we doing in regard to Blaek *admissions*, with a very elear voiee of mandate that that's something we mustn't ever let up on."

More to the point, a white faculty member reported, "there is a lot of emphasis on inereased reeruitment. I am not really sure that the retention issue has been paid as mueh attention to in part beeause I guess it gets swallowed up in the larger issue of enrollment whieh is a problem aeross the board here."

In eaeh instanee, the sole foeus is on enrollment with no mention of retention.

Oberlin's Game: Rules, Winners, Losers, and Audiences

We pereeive the agitators and the gatekeepers as being on the same team for the enrollment of Afriean-Amerieans students. In eaeh instanee, the group's objeetive is to win the game. Winning the game for eaeh of these eonstituencies is defined as having an unusually high enrollment rate for Afriean-Amerieans students. Yet the agitators and the gatekeepers part eompany in the area of Oberlin's retention rate for Afriean-Amerieans students. Agitators employ numerous strategies to ensure that they win in the area of retention and matrieulation. An Afriean-Amerieans administrator made this remark:

> I met with [first-year students] twiee during the year....After we had the meeting, we all went out together. We went to Cleveland to see a movie. This was just to let them know that yes, someone does eare that you are here and...I want you to stay here.

A elear eommitment to Afriean-Amerieans retention is displayed by this strategy. Winning for the agitators ineludes having students eonneet in a personal way with Oberlin offieials and graduate with positive feelings about their experienee at the eollege.

The winning for the gatekeepers, on the other hand, is to eontrol the process. A staff person noted: "I still think they have a eeiling, an unspoken eeiling, okay 25% overall minority is enough." This statement refleets the gatekeeper strategy of maintaining eontrol. In faet, the 1976 decision to annually enroll 100 Afriean-Amerieans students is also refleetive of the strategy whieh ineludes a desire to eontrol. A white administrator reeounted:

> I think it was in the '60s when Oberlin faeed the situation of minority enrollments, speeifieally Blaeks, and it was the general faeulty legislation that mandated enrollment of 100 Blaeks and 10 Latinos and set aside 38% of the finaneial aid budget for minority students.

Again the emphasis is on controlling the situation while the prize remains constant—increased enrollment. While the two constituencies are on the same team and share the goal of winning— defined as having an unusually high enrollment rate for Afriean-Amerieans students—they eaeh are motivated to win for different reasons.

Winning — For the Agitators

The agitators want to win so that they can have a eritieal mass of students on the campus. A white administrator described the importanee of a *critical mass* of Afriean-Amerieans students:

> I have a theory also that has to deal with a eertain number of a minority being enrolled on eampus being suffieient, a eritieal mass if you will, and when you start slipping and not enrolling as many, and you are also losing them through withdrawal, the numbers of Blaeks on eampus are not suffieient to support themselves. The support struetures begin to slip away and that beeomes a problem. We need to have suffieient numbers whieh Oberlin has....I think what they have is sufficient to maintain a presence that also attraets other students and then makes Oberlin true to its eommitment.

This notion of a eritieal mass is key in the strategy that we define as agitation and its goal of reeruiting and retaining Afriean-Amerieans students. Researeh shows that Afriean-Amerieans students are more likely to persist when there is a eritieal mass of Afriean-Amerieans students on the eampus. In sueh a situation, Afriean-Amerieans students provide support for eaeh other. Moreover, the situation eneourages the eontinuation of support serviees that are provided for these students.

Winning — For the Gatekeepers

The gatekeepers seek to win beeause it enables them to help maintain Oberlin's liberal image. Winning to them offers a selling point for the college in terms of Afriean-Amerieans as well as overall student enrollment. An Afriean-Amerieans staff person said: "There is a eommitment beeause of Oberlin's reputation that Oberlin is known for having a signifieant minority population on its eampus."

One Afriean-Amerieans administrator was very straightforward: "I think Oberlin's history forees an obligation on modern administrators....We have a tradition to live up to. As a matter of faet, it would be suieidal for anyone in the administration to buek that tradition." Another administrator eommented on the impaet that Oberlin's historieal image has on people at Oberlin today: "I think people are mindful of the history and its impaet is probably subtle, but nevertheless there is a kind of legaey, a set of important prineiples, that got established early that people really feel as part of the fabrie of the plaee."

Coneurring, a staff person shared the following

comment: "Oberlin is very proud of that historical commitment, and I think that investment and personal pride in that commitment translates into continued support." A white faculty member described the importance of Oberlin's history in the following way: "It is almost an assumption that everybody has—that Oberlin should be educating Blacks, women, and other minorities. Institutions, whatever they are, have a culture and this is part of Oberlin's culture." Each of the above perceptions clearly illustrates a strategy that stresses that commitment is important because of its role in helping to maintain the college's liberal tradition. This notion is embodied in the gatekeeping strategy. They are in the same game with the agitators, and they're on the same team for recruitment and enrollment, but the motivation to win is different.

The following specific findings are organized in relation to the three initials guiding questions.

1. To what extent do people at Oberlin College perceive an organizational commitment to the enrollment and retention of African-American students? Our research indicates that there is a shared perception that an organizational commitment exists at Oberlin College with regard to African-American students. However, this perception is not as widely shared when commitment is defined in terms of retention, rather than enrollment. With this in mind and with an eye to obtaining more meaningful information, we shifted the emphasis in this question to *how* people at Oberlin perceived the college's organizational commitment to the enrollment of African-American students. The data suggested the presence of at least two groups whose memberships cut across the original four constituencies. Some of the respondents described what we have called a gatekeeping strategy. Those who shared this strategy appeared to view the college's commitment as a barometer of the college's success and as a selling point for the college in terms of future enrollment opportunities. In fact, a recent survey of students admitted to Oberlin in 1990 indicated that over 90 percent of these individuals chose Oberlin because of its liberal tradition.[8] It would make sense, then, that those who are fulfilling a gatekeeping role would want to continue doing things that reflect a liberal image in order to maintain a large applicant pool.

Gatekeepers also appear to be concerned with basic economic issues like, 1) what kind of goods and services should our resources provide, 2) which recipients should receive priority, 3) how can we encourage the efficient use and allocation of scarce resources, and finally, 4) how can the correct allocation for public and private usage be determined. This focus on economic externalities involves private costs/gains and societal costs/gains. The gatekeepers may place emphasis on African-American enrollment due to the private or individual institutional gains that Oberlin can accrue. Retention and matriculation rates, on the other hand, can be thought of as societal gains. The externalities argument states that benefits that accrue to society instead of the individual persons or entities will not be pursued with the same vigor as those benefits that are captured privately.

The agitators see Oberlin's commitment to African-Americans in terms of private benefits to them—leverage within the establishment. But they also are conscious and motivated by the societal gains involved with achieving more African-American college graduates. This agitation strategy was described in terms of the importance it attributed to the provision of a critical mass of African-American students and its ability to provide a climate conducive for increased enrollment and retention.

2. To what extent is Oberlin's organizational commitment a part of the ethos of the college? As mentioned in the response to question one, the organizational commitment was perceived to be related to the enrollment of African-American students. This commitment to enrollment was a part of the ethos of the college. That is, a commitment to the presence of African-American students was prominent in the attitudes, behaviors, and characteristics of individuals in each of the constituencies of the college community. According to one administrator, "the whole ethos on campus is an openness to everyone regardless of race."

Not only was this campus ethos perceived within the constituencies interviewed, it was also perceived to be present in African-American alumni. The perceptions of our respondents suggested that African-American alumni were a significant part of this campus ethos. As one African-American administrator put it:

> We got a lot of referrals from Black alumni this year, which was very good, very helpful...and they also participated in calling students to find out if students had questions about the college. Many of them participated in interviews and this year I really saw the support and enthusiasm.

A white administrator described his perceptions of Oberlin's historical commitment to the enrollment of African-American students:

> If you go way, way back, needless to say, we admitted Blacks early and there were very few institutions who did at this time. I think that was the beginning of a long-term commitment to including persons other than whites.

3. To what extent do people at Oberlin College relate the organizational commitment to the college's history, pressure from advocates, or both? Those who employed the gatekeeping strategy attributed the college's commitment to the enrollment of African-American students primarily to Oberlin's historical image. There have been times when the respondents indicated that gatekeepers have seen the need to intervene when the numbers of African-American students have gone down making them active participants in the recruitment and enrollment process. However, it is unclear if these gatekeepers were afraid that the historical image would be damaged or if

there were other reasons behind their intervention. A white administrator spoke about the 1960's:

> Black enrollment was down to about one percent...and it made everybody unhappy and everyone aware that we just hadn't been paying attention to what was going on. We went to work and wrote three grants; the Rockefeller Foundation got funds for two, or was it three. One was to expand enormously the scholarship program; one was to establish what became a prototype to Upward Bound.

Agitators, on the other hand, were perceived as attributing the college's commitment primarily to vigilance and advocacy on their part. In describing these agitators, one African-American faculty member said: "it [the agitation]...included a lot of agitation by students themselves and by a few Black faculty and staff." A white administrator, discussing the period in the late 1970's when the enrollment of African-American students began to dip again, told us:

> [Barry King] and people like that who were still on campus raised people's consciousness again about not reaching the goal of 100 and what are we doing about it and then the admissions office and the administration began to respond to that.

An African-American faculty member described his perceptions upon his initial arrival on the Oberlin campus:

> When I arrived, what I found was an institution that was making serious efforts to be hospitable, to make amends. More specifically, I found certain individuals who were working seriously in the biology department and many others...these were persons who were spearheading the efforts to attract minority students.

A white administrator's perceptions of the 1960's provides more insight:

> We had some very, very important faculty tied with that, involved in the process. It wasn't just administrators. Dean [Brown] was very committed to expanding the Black population and helping to educate persons who came from backgrounds that might not be as strong as other students'...his heart was in it in all ways. I think that is important. He pressed constantly that we not just talk about things but [that] we do things. There was another man, [Franklin], in [French], all who got involved in the early stages of planning either the summer program, upward bound, special opportunities as well as talking about the scholarship program.

Here we find that it is a *combination* of Oberlin's history and current active advocacy that maintains Oberlin's commitment to African-American students. Gatekeepers primarily uphold the ethos of the college but will join forces with the agitators during crisis periods of low enrollment and retention of African-American students.

Conclusion

Several tentative conclusions are derived from our results. First, Oberlin is committed, institutionally, to the enrollment of African-American students. It uses qualitative measures like proven persistence and diligence, current self-efficacy indicators, and the future potential for upward mobility to work in tandem with quantitative measures such as admission criteria. Additionally Oberlin solicits the involvement of African-American alumni to aid in the recruitment of students. Second, this organizational commitment to the enrollment of African-American students is a part of Oberlin's ethos. That is, it is a shared value reflected in the attitudes and behavior of the members of the college community. Third, this commitment is perceived differently by those we call the agitators and the gatekeepers. The agitators view this commitment as a result of their own advocacy and the advocacy of their predecessors over the years. The gatekeepers, on the other hand, view the commitment as being derived from the college's historical image of liberalism.

We offer some recommendations based upon these conclusions. We feel that they are important to institutions of higher education that are concerned with improving their enrollment and retention rates for African-American students. First, most institutions are committed to something. There needs to be an assessment of exactly what that something is. Many institutions are committed to the idea of increasing the enrollment of African-American students. Yet each institution must assess its own commitment as exemplified by the organizational *ethos*, then implement *policies* that support this commitment. It is only with this knowledge and practice that any institution can progress with regard to the enrollment of African-American students.

Next, what is needed for complete organizational commitment to African-American students is a strong retention focus. It is, of course, necessary to enroll students before they can be retained, but the efforts are for naught if there is no institutional commitment to keeping these students on campus and facilitating their graduation. Oberlin agitators have personal contact with African-American students in the classrooms and at informal social gatherings to ensure that students feel welcome on campus. It should be noted that alumni can be instrumental in communicating student concerns to campus administrators. This can only be accomplished if mentoring supportive relationships are fostered between students and prior graduates.

Institutions must assess what "games" are being played on its campus. As in any other situation, the energies of

allies must be corralled and incorporated into strategies for "winning." For each policy initiative implemented, a university must assess who are the winners and the losers and what audiences are affected by the policy. The university also should assess whether an equilibrium has been achieved among its groups. Because of their unique missions that can include both private and social objectives, universities must work hard to insure that the allocation of scarce resources result in an equitable output of private and societal gains. If an organization strays too far in either direction, it can become fragmented into various competitive special interest groups that promote institutional stagnation instead of growth.

Finally, it must be emphasized that, a critical mass of African-American students at predominantly white colleges and universities is important for several reasons. It provides role models and academic, social, and cultural support for these students—critical ingredients for a successful college experience. Self-empowerment, or African-Americans helping African-Americans, at Oberlin is only possible because of the existence of a critical mass of African-American students.

Notes

[1]The study upon which this paper is based was funded in part by the Spencer Foundation. The essence of the paper, however, does not necessarily reflect the views of the Foundation. We are appreciative of the contributions of Lucille Teichert and Petrina Hill, graduate students at SUNY at Buffalo, who assisted in the coding of the data. The final product, however, is solely our responsibility. Interviews with Oberlin respondents are quoted directly but without citation in this report to preserve the anonymity of their responses.

[2]Oberlin College. 1997-98. *Oberlin College Course Catalog*.

[3]Oberlin College. 1987. *Oberlin College Course Catalog*.

[4]Carter G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (Brooklyn NY: 1992), 276.

[5]Anselm L. Strauss, *Qualitative analysis for social scientists* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

[6]William A. Firestone, "Educational policy as an ecology of games," *Educational Researcher* 18.7 (1989), 18-24.

[7]Ibid.

[8]T. C. Hayden. "Why Today's Students Choose Oberlin To Study The Liberal Arts," *Oberlin Alumni Magazine* 87.1 (1991), 16-17.

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Killing the Spirit: Doublespeak and Double Jeopardy in a Classroom of Scholars

by Olga M. Welch and Carolyn R. Hodges

"One of the most difficult tasks we face as human beings is trying to communicate across individual differences, trying to make sure that what we say to someone is interpreted the way we intended. This becomes even more difficult when we attempt to communicate across social differences, gender, race, or class lines, or any situation of unequal power."[1] We have conducted a nine-year longitudinal study of the relationship between pre-college enrichment experiences and the development of academic ethos (scholar identity) in educationally disadvantaged African-American adolescents. The study, Project EXCEL, examines how each participant constructs a definition of "scholar" and how, or if, that definition affects achievement in a university-sponsored enrichment program in reading, writing, and foreign language study. Student participants enter the program as sophomores and exit at the conclusion of their senior year.

For the first six years, the project operated during the summer months of June and July, with high school teachers using objectives and texts found in first- and second-year college courses in English, German, and French. In 1994, the program moved into a local high school, Augustana High School, as part of the regular college preparatory curriculum with a cohort of thirteen African-American sophomore students. Central to all the goals in EXCEL is the development of academic ethos (scholar identity), in which the meaning of "scholar" for each participant is constructed from perspectives and attitudes derived from academic study. To facilitate this process, the project's academic program concentrates on building the students' self-confidence and images of themselves as scholars—not as templates, but instead as individually derived academic "selves." The analyses of data from the first five years of the project, including interviews with EXCEL participants, their parents, and their teachers, in the regular classroom and in EXCEL, suggest that some EXCEL students develop academic ethos (scholar identity) while others do not.

This article presents findings from a part of the Project EXCEL study, the ethnographic examination of one political aspect of schooling for African-American students documented by researchers such as Jacqueline Irvine, Gloria Ladson-Billings, and Sonia Nieto.[2] Here we examine the dual messages about achievement conveyed to students through their experiences as individuals and as a group in their twelfth grade EXCEL English and German classes at Augustana High School.

Two research questions focused the study:

1. How do the EXCEL students in the English and foreign language classes come to understand and respond to academic expectations?

2. With respect to achievement and scholarship, how is the terrain of expectations negotiated?

Because of the nature of the research questions, we decided to emphasize events and exchanges occurring in the English and foreign language classrooms and the meanings derived from these exchanges for the students and teacher. Parent interviews, grades, writing samples, test scores, and school records, which are part of the larger study data, were not primary sources. Greater emphasis was placed on observations of the students in English and foreign language classes and interviews with the EXCEL students and the classroom teachers. Equivalent classroom data on non-EXCEL students were also collected to test the validity of emerging categories and themes. The data were then analyzed deductively to verify the patterns and establish the categories reported in the findings.

The findings presented herein suggest that EXCEL students develop their identities based on each individual's emerging understanding of what it means to be a "scholar." The data suggest that EXCEL students construct and reconstruct their identities based on how they interpret the meaning, expectations, and motivations related to academic achievement. What occurs between the teacher and students is influenced by what occurs outside of the classroom in the school, the local area, and the larger community. Classroom observations suggest two themes. Theme one: in the English and foreign language classes, these constructions center on differing and sometimes conflicting messages, both direct and indirect, related to achievement and scholarship. Theme two: the duality of these messages, in turn, result in negotiated students' behaviors and experiences in the classroom.

Conflicting Messages Related to Achievement and Scholarship

From September to December 1996, Project EXCEL students participated in a twelfth grade Advanced Placement English class, which met from 8:30–10:00 a.m. during the first period in the first semester of block scheduling. Interactions on achievement between the twelfth grade AP English teacher and the EXCEL students centered on the tensions and different perspectives each held about course content and course expectations. The teacher, referred to here as Mr. Jones, was a middle-aged European American and had grown up in the area. He received his undergraduate degree at the local university and majored in communications. He had been at Augustana for eight years. Student interviews and observation data confirm the themes identified earlier,

themes that in the English class emerged in the form of three messages related to achievement and scholarship: a) produce at the high level expected of AP students; b) realize individual potential; and c) prepare for college. Each message occurred within the context of discussions on course content and expectations. Mr. Jones underscored these messages by requiring work to be turned in on time and providing feedback, ranging from playful joking to sarcastic comments on the students' written and oral work. At times, the oral feedback was so pointed that students responded with absolute silence, including addressing comments sotto voce to each other or disengaging (e.g., looking out of the window or placing heads down on the desk). This occurred most often during the lessons on Conrad's book, *The Heart of Darkness*.

Throughout class time, Mr. Jones related scenarios, personal stories, and analogies related to the reading assignments. The analogies conveyed messages of determinism and the "chain of being" which contained subtle references to the connection between "success" and the unwillingness of "some groups in society" to "work hard." These messages were often followed by compliments on the students' writing or admonitions about the importance of proving themselves scholastically. The juxtaposition of these messages underscored their duality, and as evidenced in student interview data, the messages were not misunderstood. Comments from students during their reading of *The Heart of Darkness* suggested that they wanted to analyze the allusions to skin color in the novel, something the teacher repeatedly refused to acknowledge or explore. Mr. Jones told the students that their concentration on skin color as a theme was misplaced. Despite this assertion, Mr. Jones assigned an essay about Kurtz's African mistress and fiancée, asking them to concentrate on the symbolism of darkness (e.g., the absence of light) in the story and in the relationship. The students' dissenting comments on this symbolism were dismissed as "missing the point." Another assignment centered on the significance of "black hats" and "white hats" and its relationship to a character's evil nature. When one student objected, asserting her resentment of the assignment as focusing too much on color, Mr. Jones asserted that it was not about skin color.

Throughout the discussion of the book, the differing perspectives of the students on the book and their perceptions of it as racist remained unacknowledged, even as they were urged to behave as Advanced Placement students, preparing themselves for college and seeking help from Mr. Jones if they experienced problems. Within these messages of support for the students' scholarship and achievement were also parallel messages that contained negative references to blackness. It is the duality of these messages that resulted in negotiated terrains of expectations and the tensions between Mr. Jones and the students regarding course content and course expectations.

Although agreeing to observations of his class, Mr. Jones declined to be interviewed. He was invited by the observer to review the field notes and to offer his own perspective on the lessons, but indicated that he was not interested in continuing the practice after the first month. Therefore, the instructor's standpoint on achievement is unknown.

Negotiated Terrains of Expectation Regarding Achievement and Scholarship

In the German class, the teacher, referred to here as Mr. Smith, a young European American who received a master's degree in German at the local university, placed emphasis on individual student needs. Because the class was small (eight in the fall; seven in the spring), he often was able to provide a great deal of attention to each student. In interviews he stressed the importance of doing this in an atmosphere which starkly contrasted with the more reserved and easily managed (from a behavioral perspective) college classes he previously taught.

Through the use of a variety of games, written exercises which focused on student interests, and activities requiring small group work, he did get the students to attend to the task at hand and stay involved. The relaxed atmosphere sometimes had the effect of causing students to digress from their tasks and lapse into discussions about personal experiences at home and elsewhere outside of class, yet data from student profiles based on interviews reveal that Mr. Smith seemed able to motivate them in a way that the previous German teacher had not.

Although Mr. Smith frequently had to force them to return to their task, he often did so with seemingly minimal effort. Because of their trust in him and his expressed confidence in their abilities, he was able to lure and then completely engage them in the assignment at hand. Thus, when they first started reading a sixteenth-century story that ended with a joke, they were very skeptical and declared that it was *doof* [stupid, dumb]. After they gradually became used to the dialogue and comprehended enough to speculate on the turn of events, the students became excited about acting it out as a skit in the annual state-wide competition. When they read together in class, the teacher further reinforced familiar vocabulary by using it to teach/explain—in the target language—words which they had not yet learned. The students responded well to this, although it was not incorporated often enough to encourage them to answer and ask questions in German. Again, while the teacher consistently praised them for how much they had learned in German and for their talents as language students, he, in some cases, stopped short of forcing them to the next higher step.

The students were reminded—and seemed to recognize—that they had considerable talent, and the German teacher made it clear that he was very much committed to meeting their individual needs. In his interactions with them, he was consistent about his high expectations and the students, as a result, were motivated to excel. They continued to do so in the face of experiences in other classes which offered negative

messages and conflicting discourses. In one example, two female students commented on the attitude of the teacher in the AP English class, who was aware that they were studying German.

Student A: "You know, he only knows one word in German — *schwarz* [black]. He asks me every time what *schwarz* means."

Student B: "You know he told us that Black means evil."

Successful Negotiation of Student Expectations

The German instructor's success in covering a great deal of material and with keeping the EXCEL students excited about learning German rested heavily on his ability to negotiate the terrains of expectation, that is, to devise strategies of interaction which guide students toward taking responsibility—individually and as a group—for their progress in class. By making frequent use of a game he devised and called "Jeopardy," for instance, the atmosphere encouraged students to self-correct, rather than simply waiting for him to answer. Students assisted each other in mastering various concepts. They volunteered freely during the games and commented frankly about who had or had not completed the work necessary to comprehend the activity or complete an assignment in class. Because the teacher instilled confidence in their ability to master various concepts and to compete successfully against students in schools with much older, larger, and well-established German programs, the students in turn, raised their expectations of themselves and became more vigorous participants in the learning process.

Teacher Standpoint on Achievement and Scholarship

Mr. Smith's firm and supportive insistence that his students take responsibility for their failures and their successes in the class sent a direct message about his high expectations of them as scholars. He chastised them for not having studied for a quiz but always reassured them that they were capable of performing well on any given test. He implicitly conveyed his expectations for achievement by giving them challenging assignments and by refusing to yield to protestations regarding tests and homework.

Conclusion

The data from this phase of Project EXCEL underscore the need to continue research on the dynamics of social and cultural relations, as well as on the representations of self that exist in school settings. Furthermore, the data argue that the impact of such dynamics on the construction of a scholar identity may be a central component of academic achievement. Finally, by focusing on the intersection of conflict/duality and standpoint in English and foreign language classrooms, this phase of the Project EXCEL study offers additional support for the kind of cross-curricula dialogues called for by researchers in both education and foreign languages.[3] As Ellis Cose reminds us:

> There are many graveyards for intellectual dreams in black and brown America, places where no one needs read *The Bell Curve* to understand how little is expected of him or her, places where achievement is considered unnatural and discouragement lurks at every turn—often in the guise of sympathetic condescension from educators who, certain that most of their pupils will never be scholars, don't dare to challenge the Fates....Many Black and brown children are still being told that academic accomplishment is so much beyond them that there is no real purpose in trying. They are receiving that message not only from the schools, but, in many cases, from virtually everyone around them. The very atmosphere, in large parts of America, is polluted with notions of intellectual inferiority.[4]

Notes

[1]Lisa Delpit, *Other People's Children: Cultural Conflict in the Classroom* (New York: The New Press, 1995), 135.

[2]Jacqueline Jordan Irving, *Black Students and School Failure: Policies, Practices, and Prescriptions* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990). Gloria Ladson-Billings, *The Dream-Keepers: Successful Teachers of African American Children* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1994). Sonia Nieto, "Lessons from Students on Creating a Chance to Dream," *Harvard Educational Review* 64.4 (1994), 392-426.

[3]Lisa Delpit's work on cultural conflict in the classroom raises issues about cultural knowledge and politics as they relate to education reform. These questions are echoed by foreign languages educators, such as Jeffrey Peck in "Toward a Cultural Hermeneutics of the 'Foreign' Language Classroom: Notes for a Critical and Political Pedagogy," *Association of Departments of Foreign Languages Bulletin* 23.3 (1992), 11-17 and by Christine Brown, who emphasizes the cross-disciplinary nature of the language learning process in "Foreign Language Education and the Education-Reform Movement: Opportunity or Threat?" *ADFL Bulletin* 26.3 (1995), 18-25.

[4]Ellis Cose, *Color-Blind: Seeing Beyond Race in a Race-Obsessed World* (New York: Harper Collins, 1997), 51-52.

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Institutional Language of Control: Race, Class, and Gender Issues

by Harry Morgan

Controlling discourse is a common practice among colleges and universities, public and private schools, political parties, libraries, departments of government, and funding institutions, just to name a few. The control of discourse is essential for maintaining their power, status, and influence. The goals and missions of these institutions are shaped through conversations between individuals at various levels of power, status, and influence. The on-going behavior of these institutions—as dictated primarily by those in positions of power, status, and influence—is reflected in discourse among and between themselves, and their counterparts in other institutions.

These institutional interactions create *in-groups* and *out-groups*. The *in-group* understands and participates in how discussions must be framed in order to be accepted and considered. The *out-group* either does not understand or accept the framing of discourse around particular issues or events. *Out-group* members are not permitted to participate in shaping national events or issues unless they learn, accept, and participate, in the rules governing discourse as defined by the *in-group*. Institutional discourse is framed to maintain levels of power, status, and influence away from those who do not ascribe to the discourse that serves to maintain a status quo on class, race, and gender issues in the United States.

The framing of discourse in schooling has been articulated by several philosophers in education. Michael Apple, in his book *Ideology and Curriculum*, suggested that schooling in the US is designed to get students to accept prevailing thought and dominant values.[1] Jules Henry proposed that because of predetermined attitudes that dominate the curriculum, neither students nor teachers can engage in discourse that challenges hegemonic social and intellectual structures.[2] There is a continuing reinforcement among students through out their lives, so as adults, the same values are reinforced by them through the institutions where they are employed. The Black writer, Ralph Ellison (1953) pointed out in his novel *Invisible Man*, that hegemonic discourse systematically dismisses the existence of racial issues when the mere acknowledgment posed a threat to white male power structures.[3] Mary Roth Walsh brought professional women's issues to our attention in a similar vein.[4]

Framing Discussions and Controlling The Discourse

The manner in which discussions are framed can act as a screen to truncate the content. *The framing of discussions* is often a rite that establishes agendas in a broad sense, but more important, the act of framing leads to *a priori* characterizations of phenomena, and ultimately controls how issues and events are investigated, acted upon, and recorded. This approach leads to understandings among participants about how things should be valued, the direction of social thought and discourse, and common agreement on permissible conclusions. One of the earliest pre-1960s referents is the use of the word *tolerance* to describe white characteristics that are free of racial bias. Such characteristics, it was surmised, enable whites to be more *indulgent, patient, and forbearing*, toward African-Americans. In this context, African-Americans would, a priori, possess qualities that would call forth *indulgence, patience and forbearance* on the part of whites. In other words, the pathway toward racial equality in the United States is to foster attitudes among whites that *tolerate* African-Americans.

This term has been resurrected by The Center For Racial Justice, an effective organization in Alabama that has successfully litigated cases against persons guilty of racial hate crimes. This organization publishes a journal that is free to classroom teachers titled "Teaching Tolerance." Thus, unwittingly, framing the racial equality question in terms of Black dependency and white superiority.

We also observe media commonly referring to "minorities and women" in writing and oral discourse. This approach serves to ignore gender differences within minorities and creates two groups—minority males and minority women in one—and white women in the other. This novel *framing* of discourse concerning gender, provides a cleavage between minority women and white women, and substantially reduces the power of all women in numbers. A modest change in re-phrasing the discourse to, "women and minority males," would place this referent in its proper semantic perspective.

As another example, the current construct labeled *Affirmative Action*, was introduced into the lexicon of social policy, and quickly became a concept in public discourse to mean—unearned advantages for minority males and women. In reality, the legislation and public policy that brought about affirmative action as practiced, has been with us for many years. For example, following WWII, *affirmative action* was introduced to civil service employment by various federal, state, and municipal governments to grant special privileges to veterans of the war.

One common *affirmative action* for these veterans was to grant them a number of "points" to be added to their civil service test score, and/or place them at the top of the list for employment in a specified job. In addition, they were granted government backed mortgages and free college tuition. These actions were legislated, and therefore legal; and in most cases deserved by the veterans. Intended primarily for white males, these special accommodations aided relatively few minority males and women who had also served in WWII. For veterans of the

war, this affirmative action was viewed as their **right**. When special accommodations were legislated for minority males and women for past discrimination in the work place—media framed the discussion as a **privilege**. This model successfully diverts attention away from persons who affirmative action has historically advantaged—as in the case of WWII veterans—and framed it in a context that implies unearned advantages for today's minority males and women.

Many individuals and institutions in framing discussions have what they consider good intentions. Their good intentions have resulted in African-American History Month, the Martin Luther King national holiday, and programs aimed at equity for women and minority males in the market place—some existing under various labels associated with affirmative action. They have also lent their support to such groups as The Rainbow Coalition, a cross-racial group that supports women's issues and other liberal causes, and which was founded by Reverend Jesse Jackson.

When Jesse Jackson was a candidate for the presidency of the United States, reporters who followed his campaign would ask frequently, "Reverend Jackson, what is it you really want?" He would respond with the answer that to him seemed obvious given his rigorous campaign, "I want to be president of the United States." Reporters would follow up with the same question placing more emphasis upon *really want*, and Reverend Jackson understood the true intent of their query. Reporters and candidates were aware that at that time the presidency of the United States was the *affirmative action* domain of white males, and being an ambassador to a Caribbean or African nation was the highest office to which minority males or women could aspire. Jesse Jackson and his tracking reporters during this experience did not have a forum or lexicon to enable such a discussion to arise. They were mired in social policy and common agreement that *framed* the *affirmative action* discourse in a manner preventing the discussion of such realities outside of perceived privileges for minority males and women. We also know that when the U.S. is at war, the sons and daughters of the president and his staff who wish to be, are tucked away in universities, or nested in careers because of *affirmative action quotas* set aside for them. It is also true, minority male and women elected officials have yet to be admitted to the policy-making bodies of major political parties where the articulation of issues is framed. In that regard, their influence is limited to their own personal choice about which party they wish to become attached.

During the 1990s a major issue affecting all citizens was crime, and discussions were framed in media, academic institutions, and governmental agencies, by the majority who directed policies from their dominant policy making positions. As a result, unlawful activity in the African-American community was framed as "Black on Black" crime, and this gave rise to another example of reductionism that emanates from the framing of the discussion. In this particular example, crimes perpetrated against whites by whites were never framed as "White on White" crime. This selective framing suggested that Blacks committing crimes against other Blacks created a *race problem*, while whites committing crimes against other whites represent a social problem for the nation.

Following the period of the popularization of the "Black on Black" crime chant by journalists and others, institutions in the Black community like churches, social agencies and schools mounted programs, projects, and marches, designed to "reduce" Black on Black crime. Essentially, the Black community selected-in to the *framing* that was created by popular media. Such an acceptance suggested to African-American children that crime was a social problem created primarily by people with whom they identified. Ultimately it was accepted as *their* problem and not a problem of their country that affected both Blacks and whites equally, as perpetrators and victims. How these discussions were framed was important, but who *framed* the discussion was an equally important question.

On many university campuses of the 1960s and 1970s, authorities at first rejected requests from Black students for a building of their own where they could attend to issues and events that were of interest primarily to themselves. University administrators suggested that buildings set aside for racial groups would represent divisiveness in a social environment that had begun to desegregate, and many Black and white professionals agreed. The fact that on practically every campus in the US there already existed white-only fraternity houses, and religious centers, was not given equal attention. At Brooklyn College in the mid-sixties, confrontations between authorities and students became violent during student demands for a center for Black students. The rejection of the idea for a Black student center by college authorities came during the same period when a building for Jewish students was being constructed, and the street on which it was located was renamed, Hillel Place. These latter issues never became a part of the serious discourse between Black students and the college administrators. The discussion was *framed* as disrespect for authority, civil disobedience, and student responsibility, thereby excluding the issues of student concern like self esteem, racial pride, and religious identity. These same issues would be excluded from the framed discourse between Black students and university authorities on the campus of the University of North Carolina in the 1990s.

During the 1980s and 90s, national media reported with great frequency, violence between Blacks and whites in South Africa. As Black South Africans pursued voting rights and power-sharing with white South Africans, Blacks and whites formed coalitions within, and between groups. All factions, at some time during the confrontations, were reported to have committed violent acts against others. When Black factions committed violent acts against Black individuals, journalists framed their reporting, as "Black on Black" violence.

Contemporary Europe provides another example. The former Yugoslavia, a nation made up of multiple ethnic and religious groups, has crumbled in a tumultuous

process involving genocide and violence on a grand scale. These events have not been framed as "White on White" violence by media or scholarly institutions where such events are discussed. Here, *the framing of the discourse* has implied that whites committing violence against other whites is a problem for humanity—while Blacks committing violence against other Blacks was a problem for Blacks.

Over the same decades within the United States, the government has recognized the World War II imprisonment of Japanese Americans as an unwarranted wartime policy, and has paid retribution to some of the survivors. The discussions of this incident in Congress or the academy, however, was not framed in terms of **concentration** camp survivors but rather, *framed* in terms of **internment** camp survivors.

In 1995, the Smithsonian Institution was planning an exhibition that included the Enola Gay, the airplane that delivered atomic bombs to Japanese cities near the end of WWII. Some powerful members of the U.S. Congress and others who served in that war were displeased with the way the information to be disseminated was being framed. The U.S. still remains the only country in human history to use an atomic bomb to kill other humans. Veterans of WWII, many who now serve in the US Congress, want our use of atomic weapons to kill Japanese civilians *framed* with a humanitarian twist. Those who were intent upon framing the official history of that event in this fashion were influential enough to get the U.S. Senate to schedule hearings designed to bring pressure on the Smithsonian Institution. Rather than *reframe*, the Smithsonian canceled the event, and the director of the project resigned.

There is persistent and systemic rhetoric concerning something called "Reverse Discrimination." The implications here include the notions that only whites (primarily white males), are bestowed with the power to discriminate, and if people of color choose to discriminate, it is merely the reverse of what whites do.

This practice of framing discussion is an effective form of maintaining power and control. This reductionist activity takes place in the media as well as scholarly institutions and is one of the remaining barriers to efforts by some writers, journalists and intellectuals who strive to create public dialogue that includes issues of importance to minority males and women.

Selective framing serves to perpetuate attitudes and styles of discourse that tend to marginalize African-American people and issues that directly affect all of our lives. This cuts across all groups when the framing relates to gender, because women of all races are affected. To the extent that women of all races and African-American, Hispanic, Asian and Native American males learn and adopt this approach to defining ideas, these narrow routines of framing may seem to take on a life of their own, but in fact we are all responsible.

Conclusion

An understanding of issues related to the framing of discourse is essential to educators and other human service providers whose goals include empowerment of their clients. The narrow framing of national discourse works against empowerment. Those with the power to frame media and institutional discourse most effectively do so in a marketplace which responds to profits. Until profit and media ratings create pressure for change, financial resources and policy will be directed toward leaving things as they are, and barriers to inclusive discourse will not be lowered. For this reason, educational resources become all the more critical. Educators must start to train a critical consciousness in the early grades in order to challenge students to identify, confront, and define issues from a number of perspectives. Moreover, educators must bring a critical consciousness to their own work to be alert to the framing of dialogue on race, gender, and ethnicity within our textbooks and classrooms.

Notes

[1]Michael Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum* (New York: Routledge & Kegan, 1979).

[2]Jules Henry, *Culture Against Man* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965).

[3]Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (New York: Vintage Books, 1953).

[4]Mary Roth Walsh, *Doctors Wanted: No Women Need Apply* (New Haven, CT: Yale Press, 1977).

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Ebonics, Local Color, and Official Language: Who Resists Whom?

by Robin L. Murray

At a time when the media has branded ebonics "a second class language for a second-class life" and worse, a time when politicians have sought to legislate standard English as the only official language in an increasingly linguistically diverse United States, the link between the power of a single language and the power of those who determine its dominance should come as no surprise.[1] Those who, like columnist Ellen Goodman, oppose recognizing ebonics as a separate language hark back to the melting pot era in which the children of immigrants were "Americanized" in the public schools because "there was...a commitment—however ruthless—to integration, to preparing children to enter the new world."[2] Learning, speaking, reading and writing the "official" language—standard English—was and still is seen as the only way children can "travel a wider world," a world in which they cannot speak their "mother's tongue."[3]

Those in favor of distinguishing ebonics, previously known as Black English, from standard English agree that students should learn standard English, but they do not believe learning this dominant discourse should mean other language forms must be lost. The Oakland School Board based its decision about ebonics on a program called Standard English Proficiency, or SEP. According to the district definition, "SEP is a cultural-linguistic program which empowers Afrikan American students with knowledge and understanding of Afrikan and Afrikan American culture and languages. The students and teachers receive instruction in the differences between the student's home language and culture while implementing strategies that support the students in becoming proficient in standard English."[4] The program teaches teachers to understand the nuances of their students' speech, so that, ideally, they can be built upon when students are taught standard English. According to the program's originators, defining ebonics appropriately as a distinct language will allow students to learn standard English while maintaining rather than rejecting their own language and the culture it represents.

Maintaining a language separate from that of the dominant culture is seen by journalists like Goodman as threatening the melting pot theory of America and disintegrating the Union. In the post-Civil War United States, homogenizing forces, like those employed by today's politicians, were used to erase regional and racial difference which were seen as equally threatening. According to Josephine Donovan, "[a]s the modern states began to take shape, casting a unitary identity upon their territory, the imposition of a standard, 'official' vernacular upon all regions became imperative."[5] Yet, like today's Oakland Schools, local-colorist writers resisted these federalizing and homogenizing tendencies and "endorse[d] acceptance of deviance" in both the style and content of their works.[6] Russian theorist Mikhail Bakhtin gave words to this tension; he noted that a dialectic exists in literary language similar to the tension between centrifugal (unifying) and centripetal (vernacular) forces in Western history.[7] This paper will argue that just as a *linguistic* dialectic was played out within the texts of writers like Sarah Orne Jewett, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and other local colorists of the last century, a similar dialectic is at work today in the adopted policy of the Oakland Schools.

Josephine Donovan acknowledges the presence of a subversive linguistic force in local-color literature when she argues against literary critics like Louis Renza who claim that Sarah Jewett's writing supports a form of homogenizing "federalism." Donovan notes Renza's ignorance of "the feminist subtext" in Jewett's work; she provides evidence in his articulation of the so-called "regionalist/union binary." In contrast Donovan finds what she calls "regional eccentricity in language" in Jewett's works.[8] Although I too disagree with Renza's articulation of Jewett's federalizing move, I also disagree with Donovan's optimistic view of the works of the Local Color School. Women writers like Jewett do resist the homogenization of a dominant language through their use of slang, dialect, and unconventional spellings and punctuation, but they also seek entry into an homogenized institution of writing that requires what Bakhtin calls "unitary 'Cartesian,' 'official' language."[9] Local color writers, like the rest of us, demonstrate their "own intentions" by noting the many voices they have assimilated and by "refract[ing] [them] at different angles."[10] Eventually the words of these regional literary works, like those of the Oakland School Board, being "already populated with the social intentions of others [are] compel [led] to serve [their] own new intentions," intentions that reconcile region with union.[11]

In Jewett's "A Winter Drive," for example, published in her 1881 *Country By-Ways*, Jewett offers a definition of "hylozoism" similar to that of William James.[12] Jewett defines hylozoism as "the theory of the soul of the world, of a life residing in nature, and that all matter lives; the doctrine that life and matter are inseparable."[13] Yet Jewett's definition demonstrates that she has "refracted" William James's words "to serve [her] own new intentions." In effect, she reconciles James's federalist tendencies with her own more regionalist ones.

According to James, "the universe in this view is animated or spiritual both in its parts and as a whole, and the nature of Being is most reasonably to be conceived everywhere after the analogy of our own experienced life."[14] While Jewett's definition reflects her familiarity

with James' philosophy, her definition not only connects life and matter but also claims they are both spiritual and animated, a move James is unable to make. She writes, "There was an old doctrine called Hylozoism, which appeals to my far from Pagan sympathies....Trees are to most people as inanimate and unconscious as rocks, but it seems to me that there is a good deal to say about the strongly individual characters, not only of the conspicuous trees that have been civilized and are identified with a home, or a familiar bit of landscape or an event in history, but those that are crowded together in forests."[15] By attributing "character" to trees, Jewett refracts William James's words instead of simply reacting to them.

When writing in the "language" of the region of which they write, Local-Color writers resist homogenization in even more striking ways. According to Donovan, "Local-color literature is known for its emphasis upon regional particularities and eccentricities, upon local differences in setting, clothing, manners, and dialect." What has not been understood heretofore was that the women writers' willingness to use dialect and slang was itself an insurrectionary, heretical gesture. Ann Douglas notes it was a violation of the ideological "cult of true womanhood," because "ladies were known by their correct speech"; as a result, "The vernacular and the wit it inspired were officially off limits to American women."[16]

Harriet Beecher Stowe, who admitted she had an "unsanctified liking for slang," challenged this proscription as early as 1834 with her first vernacular tales.[17] Later, in *The Minister's Wooing* and *Oldtown Folks*, Stowe resists homogenizing forces of all kinds through her choice of narrator, the undisciplined Sam Lawson, and her narrator's subsequent "choice" of dialect for the characters he brings to life in the stories Stowe allows him to tell. As late as 1872, when "The Minister's Housekeeper" was published in *Oldtown Fireside Stories*, Stowe subverts federalizing linguistic forces by use of the vernacular. As might be expected, Sam Lawson, who opposes the federalizing discipline of Calvinism and all that it represents, has **no** profession, disregards time, and resists speaking in standard English. In "The Minister's Housekeeper," however, characters who seem to represent those Calvinist disciplines resist them through their dialogue. The church deacon's wife, Mis' Deakin Blodgett, for example, exclaims, "when things once get runnin' down hill, there ain't no stoppin on 'em," when speaking with a friend about the minister's reliance on a young housekeeper rather than a new wife to replace the one he lost.[18] Even the minister who might be expected to represent Calvinist disciplines resists those forces through his language and his actions when he proclaims, "I'll have him killed...we won't have such a critter 'round," in response to an incident where he fails in his attempts to force a Tom turkey to sit on some eggs.[19] The minister also resists homogenizing forces of the community by choosing to marry Huldy, his housekeeper, rather than a "respectable" woman closer to his age. Yet tensions between centrifugal (unifying and federalizing) and centripetal (vernacular) forces are reconciled when the minister "opened the minister's pew, and handed her in" under the careful gaze of church members like Mis' Deakin Blodgett.[20] Any resistance the language of the deacon's wife and the minister might represent become normalized in a church setting.

Unlike Stowe, who saw only men as storytellers, even of women's stories, Rose Terry Cooke believed women should tell their own stories. According to editors Fetterley and Pryse, Cooke "used dialect to direct her readers' attention to regional values, which she associated with women's experience of language and culture, as well as to identify conflict between women's and men's values as a major theme of her fiction. For dialect, appearing in opposition to the standard English of her expository passages, calls attention to the opposition her regional speakers see between the interests of men and the interests of women."[21] In much of her fiction, Cooke offers an alternative vision for women that opposes federalizing forces that focus on women only as wife and mother.

In "How Celia Changed Her Mind," for example, Cooke affirms women who never marry or who marry and then "change their mind" by suggesting that self-love and self-respect are more important for women than marriage and motherhood. At a Thanksgiving dinner Celia gives for her spinster friends after her husband dies, Celia resists masculine federalizing forces that so limit women's roles:

> An I'm thankful too that I'm spared to help undo somethin' done in that ignorance. I've got means, and, as I've said before, I earned 'em. I don't feel no way obleeged to him for 'em; he didn't mean it. But now I can I'm goin' to adopt Rosy Barker's two children, and fetch 'em up to be dyed-in-the-wool old maids; and every year, so long as I live, I'm goin' to keep an old maids' Thanksgivin' for a kind of burn-offering, sech as the Bible tells about, for I've changed my mind clear down to the bottom, and I go the hull figure with the 'postle Paul when he speaks about the onmarried, "It is better if she so abide." Now let's go to work at the victuals.[22]

In this short speech, Celia resists homogenizing forces through her use of dialect; she subverts and makes "motherhood" her own by choosing to adopt her dead neighbor's children but rear them to be "old maids"; she resists and refracts the language of the Bible by concentrating on more sympathetic views of unmarried women and does the same with traditional views of the family holiday, Thanksgiving.

Jewett, Stowe, and Cooke prove successful in their attempts to reconcile the regional with the federal because their societal position as white and middle class allowed them at least a little time and opportunity to publish their work in periodicals. Authors like Francis E. W. Harper, who also recognized and took advantage of the subversive power of the vernacular, faced what Frances Smith Foster

calls "grave risks" in writing *Iola Leroy*, a novel that contradicted predominantly racist literature of the day. As critic John Ernest suggests, Harper's failure to "refute the myths created by writers such as Thomas Nelson Page" could be seen as evidence of not only a failure of her abilities but as proof of African-American "artistic inferiority." To combat racist forces, Harper "appropriates the discourse of racial difference."[23] In other words, Harper refracts official language and makes it her own, for, as Bakhtin notes, "language...becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker...appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention.[24]

According to Ernest, "In [the] subtitle [of *Iola Leroy, Or, Shadows Uplifted*] Harper appropriates [the] word [Shadows], and combines in it interracial politics, intraracial aims, and educational ideals. The subtitle announces the novel's central argument: the shadows of cultural confusion, miscomprehension, and racial tension that threatened the nation's future would be lifted only when other 'shadows'—those whom Harper calls in her address on 'Enlightened Motherhood' a 'homeless race'—were lifted to their rightful place in the communal home."[25] And the text of the novel itself discusses the need for a subversive language among African-Americans as early as page two when the narrator becomes curious about what Harper calls "unusual interest manifested by these men in the state of the produce market."[26]

According to Harper, during the Civil War, "when the bondman was turning his eyes to the American flag," "some of the shrewder slaves...invented a phraseology to convey in the most unsuspected manner news to each other from the battle-field."[27] Harper explains that, "In conveying tidings of the war, if they wished to announce a victory of the Union army, they said the butter was fresh, or that the fish and eggs were in good condition. If defeat befell them, then the butter and other produce were rancid or stale."[28] Harper's bondman looks to the flag, a symbol of federalizing forces, to escape the discipline of region; yet, Harper's novel is written decades after the Civil War as a means to combat racist federalizing forces, which constructed the quintessential American as white.

According to Toni Morrison's *Playing in the Dark*, "Race, in fact, now functions as a metaphor so necessary to the construction of 'American-ness' that it rivals the old pseudo-scientific and class-informed racisms whose dynamics we are more used to deciphering."[29] Because of its struggle to separate itself from the "Old World," the United States sought various means of defining its citizens. Morrison claims that, "What was distinctive in the New was, first of all, its claim to freedom and, second, the presence of the unfree within the heart of the democratic experiment—the critical absence of democracy, its echo, shadow, and silent force in the political and intellectual activity of some not-Americans. The distinguishing features of the not-Americans were their slave status, their social status—and their color."[30] Morrison also contends that even though in countries like South Africa, to identify a South African, an adjective like "white" or "Black" is attached, "In this country it is quite the reverse. American means white, and Africanist people struggle to make the term applicable to themselves with ethnicity and hyphen after hyphen after hyphen."[31]

Succeeding in that struggle even partially is exulted in Iola Leroy where *Iola Leroy* finds that "prejudice pursues us through every avenue of life, and assigns us to the lowest places."[32] For example, Dr. Latimer, Iola's eventual husband, achieves a higher position in society so not only is described as "a true patriot and a good citizen," but is assigned the task of passing on the "sentiments of good citizenship....but his patriotism is not confined to race lines. 'The world is his country, and mankind his countrymen'"[33] At the same time, the novel seems to argue against a federalist imperialist project it claims focuses solely on "a nation building up a great material prosperity, founding magnificent cities, grasping the commerce of the world, or excelling in literature, art, and science," at the expense of "sobriety."[34] The novel also highlights the racial difference of its protagonist and, especially, of Miss Delaney, a teacher said to be "of unmixed blood," as a means of extending "American-ness" beyond its white origins. Iola Leroy argues that "Every person of unmixed blood who succeeds in any department of literature, art or science is a living argument for the capability which is in the race."[35]

In *Iola Leroy*, then, by highlighting racial difference while also redefining American-ness, Harper rewrites the language of racial difference and makes it her own. Now, in the contemporary debate over ebonics, racial differences seem to be highlighted as a means of sustaining an official language—in this case, standard English. Although many Americans are appalled that African-Americans would claim their dialect as a "language," according to the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, "the tenets underlying the [ebonics] decision are uncontroversial to linguists, who have studied what they call African-American Vernacular English for 30 years."[36]

In fact, on January 3, 1997, the Linguistic Society of America unanimously adopted a Resolution on the Oakland "ebonics" issue:

> 1. The variety known as "ebonics" is systematic and rule-governed like all natural speech varieties....2. The distinction between "languages" and "dialects" is usually made more on social and political grounds than on purely linguistic ones....3. As affirmed in the LSA Statement of Language Rights (June 1996), there are individual and group benefits to maintaining vernacular speech varieties and there are scientific and human advantages to linguistic diversity....4. There is evidence from Sweden, the U.S., and other countries that speakers of other varieties can be aided in their learning of the standard variety by pedagogical approaches which recognize the legitimacy of the other varieties of language.[37]

Linguists see the controversy surrounding ebonics as signifying Americans' fear of difference, of the vernacular, of centripetal, seemingly anti-federalist forces. According to Walt Wolfram, a linguistics professor at North Carolina State University, "The fundamental misunderstanding is about the nature of dialect diversity. American society treats dialects that aren't standard as aberrations."[38] According to *The San Francisco Chronicle*, in response to such federalizing forces, the Oakland Schools "stripped the word 'ebonics' from its newest report in an attempt to quiet controversy."[39] Newspapers applauded the decision, calling it variously "a wise move"[40] and a "remov[al of] some of the more explosive terms."[41]

Yet, few media representatives seem to recognize the subversiveness of the Oakland Task Force's plan. Instead of eliminating their policy on language development, Olszewski suggests that Oakland "still plans to dramatically increase the number of teachers who use ebonics methods with their African-American students by this fall," perhaps because it may actually be effective.[42] According to *The Chronicle*, "using African-American Vernacular English in the classroom as an aid to learning standard English improves reading performance. In one such study, students' reading levels increased by 6.2 months, compared to 1.6 months for a control group."[43] Sylvester Hodges, chair of the Task Force, maintains, "The reality is our children are not learning and we want to refocus the community's attention on that (rather than on the ebonics fight)" even as he downplays the ebonics issue, claiming "ebonics has always been just one phase of our strategy. We also want to recruit more African-American teachers, operate more homework centers and train parents."[44] By "stripping" the word "ebonics" from their policy while preserving most of their program, the task force has reconciled the centrifugal unifying forces of dominant voices in the community with their own centripetal vernacular strength.

Perhaps those on both sides of the ebonics argument could learn from local color writers. In national terms, the region and the union can be reconciled without the negation of the vernacular. Like American women regionalists of the nineteenth-century, those in the Oakland Schools should be given the means to honor vernaculars while helping all students make the official language "their own." This is especially the case when, as the Linguistic Society of America has underscored, the decision to honor linguistic diversity has been shown in itself to be a most effective pedagogical strategy.

Notes

[1]Ellen Goodman, *The Oklahoma Observer* 15 (January 1997), 19.
[2]Ibid., 15.
[3]Ibid.
[4]This definition was posted to the Internet at AFAM-Lit@Listserv.
[5]Josephine Donovan, "Breaking the Sentence: Local-Color Literature and Subjugated Knowledges," in Joyce W. Warren, ed., *The (Other) American Traditions: Nineteenth-Century Women Writers* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1993), 229.
[6]Ibid., 232.
[7]See Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981) and Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).
[8]Donovan, 231.
[9]Ibid., 229.
[10]Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 300. and *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).
[11]Bakhtin, 300.
[12]Sarah Orne Jewett, "A Winter Drive," *Country By-Ways* (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1881), 163-185. William James, "Introduction." in Paulsen, *Introduction to Philosophy* (New York: Longman, 1895).
[13]Ibid., 168.
[14]Jewett's letters reveal that she read James's *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, in which he elucidates his definition of panpsychism, a philosophy very similar to his view of hylozoism. James' definition is contained in William James, "Introduction" *Introduction to Philosophy*, 91.
[15]Ibid., 168.
[16]Donovan, 233.
[17]Quoted in Donovan, 233. Stowe's story, "Uncle Lot," was published in *Western Monthly Magazine* in 1834, when the cult of domesticity disallowed verbal wit of any kind for women.
[18]Harriet Beecher Stowe, "The Minister's Housekeeper," in *American Women Regionalists: 1850-1910* (New York: Norton, 1992), 47-57.
[19]Stowe, 56.
[20]Ibid.
[21]Judith Fetterley and Marjorie Pryse, eds., *American Women Regionalists: 1850-1910* (New York: Norton, 1992), 93.
[22]Rose Terry Cooke, "How Celia Changed Her Mind," in Fetterly and Pryse, eds., *American Women Regionalists: 1850-1910*, 137-153.
[23]John Ernest, *Resistance and Reformation in Nineteenth-Century African-American Literature* (Jackson, MI: University Press of Mississippi, 1995), 181.
[24]Bakhtin, 293.
[25]Ernest, 187.
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Enhancing Multicultural Education Through Higher Education Initiatives

by Porter L. Troutman, Jr.

This paper describes a comprehensive initiative intended to increase multicultural education and the amount of ethnic diversity among college of education faculty and undergraduate teacher education students at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas (UNLV). The paper details six components of the on-going initiative: 1) staff development: to enhance the sensitivity of college of education faculty regarding cultural issues, 2) a minority mentoring program: to provide a stronger support system for under-represented populations enrolled in the teacher education program, 3) the multicultural education project (MCE): a collaborative effort with the public school district in multicultural education, 4) the College of Education Diversity Committee, 5) the Provost's Commission on Teacher Preparation and the conceptual framework it produced for changing demographics, entitled "Preparing Reflective Teachers for Diverse Urban Populations," and (6) the President's Task Force on Campus Culture, Equity, and Environment.

The continuing lack of ethnic diversity among college of education faculty and public school teachers suggests a failure to address the issue of under-representation in colleges of education. The problem requires a comprehensive approach focused on a number of initiatives simultaneously. The individual initiatives described here are not unique, but used in combination, this approach may warrant replication in other institutions.

The activities described in this paper were not implemented in a vacuum. Indeed the importance of diversity had been addressed in some respects. University degree requirements include a single required course in multicultural education. The university had committed to equal opportunity/affirmative action in the employment of faculty. University publications already included language suggesting the desire for diversity, and there were specific recruiting efforts to increase the extent of diversity in student and faculty. Despite these efforts at remediation, the lack of a diverse faculty and student body continued. The fact that this persistent problem with diversity was not unique to our college or university was not an excuse to ignore it. After the national accreditation team called specific attention to the weakness of our program in reference to diversity the university chose to initiate a more comprehensive plan. Attention initially focused on motivational and sensitivity factors among the faculty.

Staff Development

There are a number of available resources with content which could help college of education faculty incorporate multicultural education in their programs.[1] At the annual conference of the American Association for Colleges of Teacher Education, Smith presented a particularly comprehensive model. This model, "Toward Defining Culturally Responsible and Responsive Teacher Education," identified fourteen individual knowledge bases with specific objectives for each area.[2]

Following the accreditation team's report in spring 1992, the Dean of the College of Education at UNLV supported a two-day workshop for the fall semester of 1992. An outside team was contracted to present the workshop under the heading "Multicultural School: Challenge for the Workplace and the Classroom." The workshop was conducted in the context of an off-campus retreat. All College of Education faculty were informed that attendance at the workshop was expected. Each announcement of the activity and each reminder about attendance together with the workshop content, emphasized that the university had a significant problem which required attention.

Activities included experiential exercises, small group case-study problem solving, attitude surveys, and some content presentation. A total of sixty-three faculty participated in the process.

Response of the faculty to the activity was, as expected, mixed. The overall evaluations conducted at the close suggested a satisfactory experience. Some faculty members reported the typical reactions to in-service activities (i.e. unnecessary, could have used time better, don't need outsiders to help with this problem). In isolation, a workshop of this type is, of course, insufficient to address the larger need. In concert with the other planned activities, however, the workshop was a critical element in the overall plan. All faculty, regardless of their reported reaction, inevitably exited the workshop with a greater sensitivity to the problem and increased awareness that this was an area of priority in the College of Education. As teachers become more knowledgeable about and more sensitive to the value of diversity, students begin to see themselves as integral, not separate. Those students are more likely to perceive the teaching profession as a potential career and more likely to experience motivation toward such a career.

The workshop ended just as the fall semester began. The workshop was followed up with memoranda and discussion at faculty meetings. These served as on-going reminders that while the single required course in multicultural education was important, there was now an expectation that faculty would infuse multicultural material and perspectives across the curriculum.

Assessing the results of this workshop is difficult. There was an increase in the extent to which course syllabi were revised to include multicultural attention, which creates the reasonable expectation that this change was also reflected in actual course delivery.

Staff development is an important component of the

larger initiative with full recognition that it will be a long process with years before the outcome may be evident in actual student enrollment. However, there was a second initiative with specific intent to retain the students already enrolled or contemplating enrollment in the College of Education.

Minority Mentoring

The Minority Mentoring Program was established to create and maintain rapport between the faculty mentors and the culturally diverse students. The goal was to enhance retention and success in the college of education. The specific objectives included: 1) providing academic advisement, 2) assisting students in the identification, location, and utilization of support services at the university, 3) helping students feel that they belonged, and 4) instilling academic confidence.

Approximately 39% of the college of education faculty members served as faculty mentors. The faculty mentor was asked to meet once every two weeks with one or more of the 44 students who signed up for the program. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the student's academic progress, career interests, current work, and any other issues or concerns the student might have. Monitoring the student's academic progress was central to ensuring the student's success, so the faculty mentors were asked to keep a journal, documenting and describing each student contact.

Results of the mentoring program are in process. However, student comments suggest they do not feel isolated or shut out from the program. Many repeat a common sentiment: "Having someone I can go to who understands what it is like for feel different really helps a lot."

Project Multicultural Education

Our university is located in one of the fastest growing metropolitan areas in this country. The metropolitan area is served by a single, unified school district with a total enrollment of 190,000, among the largest of U.S. school districts. Faculty in our College of Education, in partnership with this school district, participated in a project to bring a multicultural perspective to the classrooms in the school district.

The goals of this project, of course, go far beyond simply increasing current diversity levels in the student and faculty populations in the college of education. The attitudes of students about their teachers and the profession of teaching are shaped early in the public school experience. A teacher who projects a multicultural perspective is more likely to be seen as a role model for previously neglected students.

This project involved an in-service commitment to eventually reach each teacher in the district's elementary and middle schools. From the period of September 8, 1994 through May 2, 1995, the staff development workshop was presented at 120 different schools. Goals for the workshop were to assist the teachers to: 1) recognize the role of self and culture values, personal feelings, attitude, and beliefs in fostering and inhibiting cultural interactions and awareness, 2) promote positive attitudes about cultural differences, 3) identify levels of racism as it relates to cultural differences, 4) explore strategies for understanding and learning about cultural differences, and 5) develop an awareness action plan for the schools/classrooms. A variety of activities were included to facilitate attainment of these objectives during the one day period including presentation, role-playing case studies, improvisations, and simulation activities.

A total of 2,656 teachers participated in this series of workshops, with a mean of 22.9 participants in each workshop. At the conclusion of each workshop the evaluation instrument requested each participant to not only evaluate the quality of the presentation, but to also indicate whether the topic was perceived as important, whether something new was learned, whether the information presented would be useful in the classroom, and whether the information would be useful in other ways.

Ninety-six percent of the participants noted agreement or strong agreement that multicultural awareness was an important topic. Strongly agree or agree was the response of 91% of the participants to the question of whether something new was learned. Ninety percent reported agreement or strong agreement that the information would be useful in the classroom. Eighty-four percent expressed agreement or strong agreement that the information would be useful in other ways.

These data suggest that the workshops reached a large number of teachers in the district, and that the teachers had highly positive responses to the experience. Of particular significance may be that more than half of the respondents expressed strong agreement that this information related to multicultural awareness would be useful in their classrooms. Even granting the likelihood that not all would follow through with actual change in classroom behavior, these numbers suggest reason for optimism that there can be change in the classroom atmospheres which very likely have had direct and indirect eventual influence on the lack of diversity in the student body and faculty of teacher education programs.

College of Education Diversity Committee Bylaw Changes

The next effort was to establish a College of Education Diversity Committee to address goals relating to the university's own professional development needs. The Diversity Committee is a standing committee in the College of Education. College of Education Bylaws were changed to reflect the composition and purposes of the Diversity Committee. The Diversity Committee consisted of two faculty members from each department.

Terms of membership are for two years and are staggered to ensure continuity. Additional College of Education faculty could join the Diversity Committee to accomplish various tasks. The Diversity Committee focused on infusing multicultural learning experiences across the college curriculum, attracting a more culturally

diverse population as students, providing collaboration and services to our local school district, and providing leadership to our community and university. This task force was charged by the Dean to create a vision of a College of Education that attracts, prepares, and inspires men and women of all ethnic groups to be culturally sensitive teachers and administrators of the increasingly diverse students in Southern Nevada.

Provost's Commission on Teacher Preparation

The next initiative focused on Teacher Preparation. The Commission on Teacher Preparation of the College of Education was formed on September 27, 1996, at the request of the provost. The impetus for the formation of the commission was to develop a comprehensive plan to enhance teacher preparation at UNLV and to build a bridge into the 21st century for teacher education in Nevada.

The Commission consisted of a faculty group of volunteers with profound interest in the status of teacher education at UNLV. The commission was chaired by the Dean of Education. The specific charges of the commissions were to: a) formulate a plan which accounts for the future of teacher preparation at UNLV, b) explore ways to increase the number of teachers UNLV prepares for the state of Nevada including alternative routes to licensure and, c) set expectations to implement this plan for the Provost's Office as well as the State Department of Education, the state legislature, and the community. The Commission developed the following conceptual framework which underlies its proposed plan for teacher preparation as well as the recommendations that emanate from it.

This framework is entitled, "Developing Reflective Teachers for Diverse Urban Populations." This conceptual framework is based on the work of John Dewey. Dewey defined reflective thinking as the "active, persistent and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in light of the grounds that support it."[3] The reflective process involves solving problems through inquiry about practical situations and shaping experiences by continually probing for better ways to identify, pose, and solve problems within given situations of practice.

Demographic trends clearly show that teachers will continue to teach incredibly heterogeneous groups of students making up the school population in the year 2000.[4] Already in the city of Las Vegas over 42 percent of school age children are students of color. Accordingly, learning to teach in diverse urban contexts and incorporating learning experiences that enhance students' knowledge about how poverty, social class, race, gender and ethnicity affect school practices and student learning are central themes in our teacher preparation program. Therefore, teachers across professional fields in the college are encouraged to develop integrated and collaborative approaches to meeting the needs of diverse urban populations.

President's Task Force on Campus Culture, Equity, and Environment

This task force was formed in January 1996. The members represent all major groups of individuals who are part of the campus community: administration, faculty, professional staff, classified staff, and students. Four subcommittees were established and assigned to develop position papers on the following topics: Recruitment and Retention; Awareness of Diversity, Disability, and Public Safety; Curriculum; Affirmative Action Office.

Recruitment and Retention Subcommittee. This subcommittee identified the following eight goals:

1. Increase the number of tenured and tenure-track faculty and professional staff in each under-represented group substantially.
2. Increase the success of faculty and staff from under-represented groups in the achievement of professional fulfillment, promotion, and tenure.
3. Increase the number of under-represented faculty and staff in leadership positions.
4. Increase the number of individuals from under-represented groups in administrative positions.
5. Achieve an increase in the number of entering undergraduate students from under-represented groups as well as in the total under represented group enrollment.
6. Increase the retention and graduation rates of undergraduate students from under-represented groups.
7. Increase the number of entering graduate students from under-represented groups.
8. Improve the success of graduate students from under-represented groups.

The subcommittee expects that UNLV will endorse and put into action an aggressive agenda related to student, staff, and faculty recruitment and retention within the context of diversity.

Subcommittee on Campus Awareness of Diversity, Disability and Public Safety. This group was established to address issues relating to awareness of diversity, disability, and public safety on UNLV campus. The committee identified seven goals and redefined diversity to include all aspects of the diversity represented in our society.

1. To project and encourage an open and just environment for all groups and individuals.
2. To diversify cultural programming on campus to reflect the institutional commitment to diversity and public safety.
3. To raise the awareness of diversity and public safety issues among new UNLV students.
4. To raise the awareness level of returning students in areas of diversity and public safety.

5. To raise the awareness levels of diversity and public safety issues among all existing faculty and staff.
6. To encourage the administration's allocation of financial resources to meet the additional demands upon departmental budgets.
7. To identify the individuals responsible for overseeing the implementation of the actions proposed.

These awareness efforts must be supported by the entire university, and the administration must make a conscious effort to articulate its institutional commitment to these ideals. Creating a campus community which is aware and accepting of diversity and safety issues requires that we focus upon creating an institutional culture and environment.

Curriculum Subcommittee. A number of different measures could be taken to increase diversity in the curriculum.

1. Add a diversity component to the core curriculum.
2. Ensure that courses which currently satisfy core requirements have a diversity component where possible.
3. Include a diversity component in the new teaching center.
4. Develop links between UNLV faculty and the public school system to encourage female and students of colors to enter other disciplines.

The above list of recommendations requires the concerted efforts of all departments and faculty and serves as a frame for curriculum changes. Recent proposed changes in the core curriculum have occurred.

Affirmative Action. The goal of this subcommittee was to determine how the university could enhance diversity efforts by improving and expanding the functions formerly accomplished by the UNLV Affirmative Action Office.

It was agreed that the office should adopt expanded goals and additional functions and that its title should reflect that. The Office of Institutional Diversity is responsible for implementing and monitoring the University Diversity Plan and the annual Affirmative Action Plan, as well as coordinating internal and external communication regarding diversity and ensuring that compliance requirements are met.

Summary

This report is a "story in process." Following an accreditation team's report of insufficient diversity in both the student population and college faculty, a major initiative was undertaken. The initiative was designed to bring both a short-term remedy and eventual long-term resolution. This university's experience with a six-part initiative is sufficiently positive to suggest that it may provide a useful model for other institutions. This is a multi-faceted problem which clearly will require multi-faceted approaches for resolution. It is our belief that the components described in this paper along with periodic addition of new initiatives to keep the need in sharp focus can ultimately lead to success. Given that some of the initial impetus came from the desire to meet national accreditation standards, this paper can echo the sentiments of Coombs and Allred: the accreditation process contributed significantly to the enhancement of our teacher education program, campus environment and school community.[5]

Notes

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Let's Get It Started: Teaching Teachers How to Implement a Culturally Revelant Pedagogy

by Jamal A. Cooks

In today's American schools, many teachers are faced with the problem of keeping African-American students engaged in the lessons taught in pre-K-12 classrooms, a problem which at times leads to low academic performance. According to data presented in the 1994 National Assessment of Educational Progress, 48% and 66% of African-American students scored below the basic competency level in reading and mathematics respectively.[1] With many African-American students being labelled "not proficient" in some academic content areas, a growing achievement gap exists between African-American and European-American students. This gap contributes to fewer African-Americans 1) gaining access to institutions of higher education; 2) taking longer to complete their degree courses; and 3) having access to employment opportunities. In view of the fact that some African-American students obtain low test scores in pre-K-12 education, and the continuing decline of African-Americans being admitted into institutions of higher learning, two basic questions emerge: 1) What type of teaching instruction can provide students with a more holistic learning experience in pre-K-12 as well as in institutions of higher learning, and, 2) What role can institutions of higher education play in improving the teaching and learning of all students?

The ebonics debate in Oakland, California, raised a major issue concerning culture and the teaching of African-American students. With a changing student population, educators must begin to provide students with a reason to attend school by creating a culturally relevant pedagogy, constructing it specifically for the students population of the area as a means to increase student enrollment and improve student engagement and academic achievement. In this essay I first introduce three existing principles of an instructional methodology called *culturally relevant pedagogy* and then I expand the current definition of culturally relevant pedagogy in order to create a stronger rationale for using it to explicitly improve the academic performance of African-American students at all educational levels. Next, I provide the implications of an expanded definition of culturally relevant pedagogy for pre-K-12 classroom instruction. Finally, the discussion turns to strategies for implementing culturally relevant pedagogy in any classroom, and to the role that teacher education programs must play in the teaching of African-American students.

Existing Principles of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

Culturally relevant pedagogy is the "kind of teaching that uses the students' culture to help them achieve success."[2] Within this definition there are three main principles: 1) "culturally sensitive instruction," 2) "cultural scaffolding," and 3) "culturally responsive instruction."

First, in culturally sensitive instruction, one must provide students with a foundation of the history, heroes/heroines, values, customs, and traditions of their ancestors. The culturally sensitive strand is an instructional tool used to inform students about the contributions, culture and ancient lives of African descendants, while simultaneously empowering people of African-American descent.[3] With a heightened level of understanding of the African-American experience, teachers will be able to engage the students at the outset as well as motivate them to learn. The second principle, cultural scaffolding, builds upon the culturally sensitive instruction by using culturally based materials to engage the student but differs by focusing on the cognitive development of the student. For the purpose of this paper, cultural scaffolding is defined as the process of building upon prior cultural experiences and knowledge as a means to construct new knowledge that can be associated with school type knowledge. Teachers could apply the cultural scaffolding model by utilizing a cultural discourse tradition, such as signifying as a scaffold, to assist in the construction of new knowledge for the students scaffold, based on their prior language experiences.[4] Through the practices of "cultural scaffolding" teachers can draw upon the students' existing knowledge which is based on their own cultural exposure as a means to improve the teaching and learning of all students.

Building further upon the argument that students' construction of knowledge influences academic performance, the third principle, culturally responsive instruction, involves recognizing the distinct cultural differences and preferences and how some students are penalized for their failure to assimilate to the norms of the classroom culture or expectations.[5] For instance, in some literacy instruction, the expectations and preferences of some literacy—reading, writing, and oral communication practices—of students may differ from that of their teacher. As a means to improve instruction, teachers may begin to construct enriching learning activities in classrooms for students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. Since discrepancies may develop between the desires of the student and the expectations of the teacher, with the student often being academically penalized for deviation from the standard, a culturally responsive instruction presents the necessary balance between the cultural preferences of the student and the academic expectations of the teacher.

The three principles of culturally relevant pedagogy—culturally sensitive instruction, cultural scaffolding, and culturally responsive instruction—each has distinct pedagogical application for the teaching of African-American students. Culturally sensitive instruction focuses

on using the cultural interests of the students while cultural scaffolding extends the notion by identifying the prior knowledge students have in a certain content area context, and builds upon their previous experiences to construct new knowledge. However, cultural responsive instruction implies that the assessment tools in classrooms need to compensate for the different types of information being presented in the classroom. Although these three principles are very useful, two other perspectives should be included in a culturally relevant pedagogy in order to provide African-American students with a more holistic learning experience. These additional suggestions may lead to increased student enrollment and improved student engagement and achievement.

Additional Suggestions for Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

In an effort to create a more holistic definition of a culturally relevant pedagogy, two other strands of culturally relevant pedagogy need to be combined with the existing perspectives: 1) culturally sensitive linguistic teaching, and 2) socio-cultural teaching. Although work has been done on the oral practices of African-Americans in their usage of African-American English vernacular, culturally sensitive linguistic teaching would be sensitive to both the oral and writing practices within the African-American community. In light of the ebonics debate in Oakland, California in December 1996, more attention must be paid to the language practices and writing preferences African-American students bring into the classroom. The writing skills level of students is an important issue because adolescents are called upon to complete a writing portion on standardized tests on high school proficiency tests. Institutions of higher learning are also increasingly requiring that students demonstrate higher levels of literacy skills for admission. These programs need to be further developed to include the pragmatics of African-American language in the discussion of improving the teaching and learning of all students.[6]

Another perspective that should be included in the definition of culturally relevant pedagogy is socio-cultural teaching. This type of culturally relevant pedagogy has been defined as "a theoretical model that not only addresses student achievement but also helps students accept and affirm their cultural identity while developing critical perspectives that challenge inequalities that schools (and other institutions) perpetuate."[7] In all, the socio-cultural perspective is often ignored in the wider context of culturally relevant pedagogy. With the inclusion of these two other perspectives, coupled with the previous three perspectives, a more holistic, broader definition of culturally relevant pedagogy emerges as a significant instructional tool. Using the new definition, combining all of the perspectives, culturally relevant pedagogy possesses implications for higher education.

Implications for Higher Education

Culturally relevant pedagogy can influence higher education in two distinct ways. First, when a culturally relevant pedagogy is implemented at the pre-K-12 level, more students are likely to view higher education as a viable goal because of their success at the lower level. Potentially, it can: 1) increase student engagement; 2) utilize prior knowledge as learning experiences; 3) improve student academic performance 4) increase African-Americans' college graduation rates. As we move into the next millennium, students are increasingly being required to possess technology competence, critical thinking skills, and academic excellence. In addition, it is increasingly more pivotal to not only provide students with the necessary reading, writing, and arithmetic tools needed to gain admittance into universities, but to equip them with mechanisms to assist in their retention and success rate in college. Since culturally relevant pedagogy places the student at the center of instruction, curriculum teachers in teacher education programs must receive the necessary training to effectively teach African-American students.

Second, teacher preparation programs must address issues pertaining to culture more seriously to ensure that a positive learning experience is provided to all students. With the changing student teacher ratios in the public schools, where 83.3% of the students are "minority," and many African-American, and 45.3% of the teachers are non-minority, pre-service teachers must be better prepared to teach all students particularly African-American and other students of color. The key to training pre-service teachers lies in more schools of higher education focussing on indoctrinating teachers with the concept that a holistic culturally relevant pedagogy must be implemented in academic settings at the pre-K-12 level in order to get more African-Americans to the university level. In addition, teachers will learn that implicit in the meaning of a culturally relevant pedagogy is the requirement that they act as counselor, nurse, friend, disciplinarian, and often times surrogate parent in conjunction with being the "teacher" of content knowledge in the classroom. As a means to better understand how to deal with these issues, pre-service teachers must be exposed to different strategies of providing students in their classrooms with a holistic culturally relevant pedagogy.

Although some instructors of pre-service teachers at the university level may believe cultural relevant pedagogy is a necessary methodology for teacher preparation, some may wonder how to actually implement such a program in their pre-K-12 grade level. The following are suggestions for potential higher education teacher preparation programs, of concepts that might be used in a classroom with a student population of African-American students while implementing a holistic approach to teaching a culturally relevant pedagogy:

1. provide students with interesting prompts that deal with sociopolitical issues,
2. use alternative, non-standard writing in constructing a culturally relevant pedagogy,
3. use culturally relevant pedagogy to address the issue of difference,

4. use materials for and about the dominant student population in the class.

Although these instructional strategies are only examples of how to implement a culturally relevant pedagogy, in a pre-K-12 classroom, pre-service teachers must be exposed to the different cultural needs in African-American student's learning process and need to be trained to deal with varying issues which may influence the academic performance of their students.

Conclusion

With this expanded definition of culturally relevant pedagogy—which includes using cultural history, prior knowledge, and cultural preferences, as well as language and sociopolitical issues—I believe that a holistic approach to a culturally relevant pedagogy will improve the teaching and learning of all students, particularly those from diverse populations. Teacher educators must prepare pre-service teachers to better understand the importance and complexities of culture and its influence on the educational outcomes of African-American students. The instructors in institutions of higher learning must better prepare teachers to instruct a variety of students from various cultural and social backgrounds as well as become all around effective educators. Teachers leaving teacher preparation programs must understand that the important point of teaching is to effectively teach the students in the classroom a worthwhile lesson on a daily basis. Culturally relevant pedagogy is only one suggestion of how to improve the teaching and learning of all students. Teachers must not only be concerned with meeting the academic standards required by the state or district but also preparing the student for life outside of school as well. As more teachers become informed about how to implement a culturally relevant pedagogy, more African-Americans will graduate from high school, be admitted to colleges, and obtain a degree that may eventually provide access to an abundance of opportunities in the future. Based on the current status of the educational experience of many African-American students, it is clear that the traditional methods are isolating and do not work. The pedagogical philosophy of teaching African-American students must therefore adjust to the needs of this continually shifting student population. I believe that this holistic approach to culturally relevant pedagogy can improve the teaching of African-American students at the pre K-12 level, and it is an investment to train teachers to build upon the existing skills students bring with them into classrooms across the country. The time is now to get it started; let's start teaching teachers how to implement a holistic and culturally relevant pedagogy that will improve the learning experience for African-Americans, increase academic performance, and lead more African-Americans to college, to graduate school, and to successful lives in our society.

Notes

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Preparing White Undergraduate Pre-Service Teachers to Teach African-American Students: What Does It Take?

by Frances Y. Lowden

Accelerated change in the demographics of the nation substantiate the need for pre-service teachers to become more sensitive to the needs, challenges, and aspirations of diverse ethnic groups. American schools reflect the ever-changing diversity of the population. According to the Bureau of the Census "between 1980 and 1990 the population of the Unites States grew by 9.8% with Anglos experiencing 6% growth, the smallest proportional increase. By contrast, the African-American population increased 13%; Native Americans increased by 38%, and Hispanics by 53%.[1] The largest minority group at the present is African-American with more than 30 million making up to 12% of the U.S. population.[2] By 2080, Anglos will almost certainly be the minority population in the Unites States.[3] Gloria Ladson-Billing states:

> African-Americans find themselves on a downward spiral. African-American students lag far behind their Caucasian counterparts on standard academic achievement measures. At the same time, the very society that experienced a civil rights revolution finds itself locked in the grips of racism and discrimination. Almost 40 years after a Supreme Court decision declaring separate but equal schools to be illegal, most African-American students still attend schools that are in reality segregated and unequal.[4]

Preparation and Curriculum

A strong appreciation and knowledge of diverse cultures is vital in delivering what the Association for Childhood Education International position paper identifies as the curricular areas that should be addressed in a preparation program for teachers of young children.[5] Thus, undergraduates must develop: 1) an acquaintance with great music, art and literature, 2) a knowledge of health, safety and nutrition, 3) an understanding of the physical and biological aspects of the world and the universe 4) a knowledge of mathematical concepts 5) an ability to read with comprehension, then to analyze, interpret, and judge a wide range of written material, 6) a knowledge of technology as an educational resource, instructional tool and curriculum component, 7) a comprehension of the variety and complexity of communication patterns as expressed by people of differing cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds in a global context, 8) a knowledge and understanding of differences and similarities among societies and cultures, both at home and abroad, and finally, 9) an awareness of the social, historical and political forces affecting children and the implications for education within individual nations and world contexts.

This same program should include techniques for: 1) planning that integrates young children's needs and developmental stages with the teacher's education philosophy as well as local, state/province and national mandates, 2) selecting and evaluating prepared materials and creating new materials consistent with stated goals and objectives, 3) adopting a variety of curriculum models to meet individual as well as group needs, 4) creating learning environments that foster creativity, 5) creating learning environments that foster healthy self-concepts and regard for others, and intellectual and physical growth in balanced proportions, 6) integrating play, a growth process, as an integral part of a child's intellectual, social/emotional, physical and aesthetic development, 7) implementing a program of learning for young children that includes all curriculum areas such as language (oral, written, literature, reading), mathematics, use of technology, science (physical, life, earth and space, science and technology) social studies (geographical, political, historical, economical, cultural, anthropological), performing and visual arts (music, dance theater, art, film) and physical education, 8) recognizing the potential and need to integrate content across the curriculum, where appropriate, in varied education contexts, 9) developing classroom management and guidance techniques for children, 10) recognizing and responding to families (traditional and diversified) in school/parent/community relationships that involve them in the educational process, 11) assessing and evaluating children's total development (intellectual, social/emotional, aesthetic, physical) using authentic, performance-based assessment, 12) developing leadership ability for appropriate contexts."

Without immersion in multicultural literature, guidance by facilitators of learning in multicultural issues, and a commitment from determined, focused teacher preparation programs, the above mentioned areas of knowledge, performance and dispositions will not be infused with the multiple strategies, intent to equity, and self-reflection needed to transform a mediocre one-dimensional Anglo-linear pre-service educational experience into a student-centric, transformative, dynamic, constructivist experience where growth precedes change. Change involves intense scrutiny of personal values and beliefs, and these give way to new ways of examining one's motives and intents, thus greatly impacting the teaching and learning process.

Teacher Characteristics

Curriculum and preparation can be viewed in a matter of fact, generic manner in the spirit of the teacher-proof

curriculum or can be exposed to the lenses of teacher qualifications and attributes. Can prepackaged curriculum address the needs of an evolving, diverse student population? Or do teachers' perceptions, characteristics, beliefs, and philosophies impact the way curriculum is constructed in the minds of young children?

In *Star Teachers of Children in Poverty*, Martin Haberman states, "For children in poverty from diverse cultural backgrounds who attend urban schools, having effective teachers is a matter of life and death."[6] Haberman's discussion of effective characteristics of teachers parallels those found in Michele Foster's *Black Teachers on Teaching* where both posit that these teachers are committed to African-American children, their communities, and other diverse communities that spawn them; these teachers are committed to believing in students' unlimited potential, to working hard to provide a quality education despite difficult circumstances, to struggling against (and helping their children struggle against) all forms of racial oppression, and to building a sense of connection between students and their communities.[7] In Marva Scherer's interview with Mike Rose, Rose identifies teachers who do wonderful work in the personal context of educating themselves; working themselves into the community; buying in the community; of going to community functions; of living in the community; of forming alliances with parents; of absorbing local custom and culture. And though he goes on to say, "The color of one's skin and where one lives do not automatically confer the capacity to reach particular groups of students," in fact, the inability of African-American students to interact and identify with African-American teachers in their physical domain can cause a sense of inferiority and lowered self-perceptions.[8]

While the percentage of African-Americans is increasing, the number of African-American teachers is decreasing resulting in young white, middle-class females providing the foundations of education for a large number of poor, urban students of color. According to Lisa Delpit, "Most teachers who teach today's children are white; tomorrow's teaching force will be even more so."[9] She strongly suggests that one tool to use in attending to the multiplicity of needs of diverse students is understanding their cultural baggage and providing a match between teacher strategy and specific challenge of the moment. Irvine views this as "cultural synchronization" between school climate and student background with teacher's knowledge and appreciation of the values, habits and norms of the student viewed as a valuable bridge to eliminating cultural conflict.[10] Teachers who overcome negative attitudes and stereotypes exude a respect that fosters positive attitudes of expectancy for achievement and optimal success for African-American students. But according to Gomez, many attempts are being made in myriad teacher education programs to teach for diversity with minimal positive results. She states, "To date, no reform report on teacher education nor any single teacher education program has adequately addressed the complexity and the urgency of the challenges that lay before us in educating all of our children."[11]

School communities and their teachers can provide a safe place for the body and windows of opportunity for the mind, but they also can make or break the spirit of the student. When interviewing Black teachers, Foster found that throughout their Pre-service and in-service tenures many felt that their voices were silenced. If African-American teachers are silenced and African-American students are silenced where will their advocates come from? Can someone else really raise our children better than we, ourselves?

There is expertise in experience. To rethink the realities of education and to make visions clearer, the dreams of African-American teachers and students must be articulated and reflected upon. When these opportunities are not provided frustration ensues. In order to properly educate white undergraduates, African-American voices must be heard, appreciated, and valued. An ethnographic Afrocentric epistemology couched in lived experiences generates a wealth of knowledge on how to educate all teachers to educate African-American children.

Conclusion

It is undeniable that, historically, African-American students have been subjected to miseducation. It is unrealistic to think that African-American students are going to continue to buy into an educational system that relegates them to the "back of the bus." Without concerted intervention, the status quo will persist, and African-American under-representation in higher education, the "hard" sciences, and Ph.D. attainment will steadily decrease. That reality is alarming and must stir all with a stake in education to remedy this situation.

At present, the current cadre of white, female undergraduates who are ready to become early childhood and elementary teachers have a great responsibility to themselves and to all children. Their teaching and therefore their training will impact the 21st century. Though there is no one solution to this challenge, a sound effort in reprogramming negative, institutionalized thinking is necessary for all in-service teachers, parents and students. To choose not to accept this challenge can only be deleterious to students' well-being and to the well-being of our culture.

Notes

[1]U.S. Bureau of the Census, Final 1990 Census Population Counts (Washington, D.C.: Department of Commerce, 1991), 23.

[2]William Willis, "Families with African American Roots," in Eleanor W. Lynch and Maria J. Hanson eds., *Developing Cross-cultural Competence* (Baltimore, MD: Brookes Publishing Co., 1992), 114.

[3]Quality Education for Minorities Project, *Education That Works: An Action Plan for the Education of Minorities* (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1990).

[4]Gloria Ladson-Billings, *The Dreamkeepers* (New York: Jossey Bass, 1994), x.

[5]Position Paper on Teacher Preparation, *Childhood Education*, 73 (Spring 1997), 164-165.

[6]Martin Haberman, *Star Teachers of Children in Poverty* (West Lafayette, IN: Kappa Delta Pi, 1995), 1.

[7]Michelle Foster, *Black Teachers on Teaching* (New York: The New Press, 1997).

[8]Marva A. Scherer, "Conversation with Mike Rose," *Educational Leadership Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development* (April 1997), 1.

[9]Lisa Delpit, *Other People's Children: Cultural Conflict in the Classroom* (New York: The New Press, 1995), 599.

[10]Jacqueline J. Irvine, *Black Studies and School Failure: Policies, Practices and Prescriptions* (New York: Praeger, 1991), 23.

[11]Michele L. Gomez, "Prospective Teacher's Perspectives on Teaching Diverse Children: A Review with Implications for Teacher Education and Practice," *Journal of Negro Education* vol. 62 no.4 (1993), 471.

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Project MIME: Reshaping Mathematics Education in Secondary Schools

by Joseph A. Meyinsse

For a number of years the movement to reform the content and processes of mathematics education has gained momentum. At this time the consensus of professional thought based on student performance is that the old methods of teaching based on performance objectives have failed. As a result, these must be replaced from kindergarten through college by methods which emphasize hands-on activities and thereby actively involve the learner in the educational process and which promote the development of higher order cognitive skills. It is also the consensus that this process will develop students who are mathematically and scientifically literate and who are well-equipped to function in and to contribute to a complex, technologically-based society. The processes necessary to effect the desired transformation in the mathematical education of our children have been codified in the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) *Standards*, while those necessary to effect essential changes in the education of their teachers have been documented in the Mathematical Association of America (MAA) publication, *A Call for Change*.[1]

In 1991 the National Science Foundation (NSF) established the Statewide Systemic Initiative (SSI) program. To paraphrase the program's mission, SSI seeks to encourage improvements in science, mathematics, and engineering education through comprehensive systemic changes in the education systems of the states. The SSI program represents a strategy aimed at strengthening the infrastructure for science and mathematics education through the alignment of state policies and resources. Twenty-five states and Puerto Rico received five-year matching grants through the initial funding cycle of the SSI program.

The Louisiana Systemic Initiative Program (LaSIP) was designed to reform mathematics and science education in order to adequately prepare students for this rapidly changing age of technology. In June 1996, Louisiana was one of only two states to be awarded "second-cycle" SSI funding from NSF.[2] The primary focus of LaSIP has been professional development for classroom teachers. Initially, in-service training was aimed at mathematics and science teachers in grades four through eight; however, the program has broadened its range and scope to include K-3 and 9-12.

Project MIME

The Department of Mathematics at Southern University has conducted four in-service LaSIP Projects for teachers of grades 5-8 for three years and 9-12 for one year through a program known as *Modeling Integrated Mathematical Experiences* (MIME). The project, funded originally during the 1993-1994 academic year, has now been funded for its fifth year in grades 9-12. The project, co-directed in 1996-1997 with Dr. Lovenia DeConge-Watson, is under my direction for this year.

Project MIME for secondary school is designed to enhance the mathematical knowledge and the pedagogical proficiency of mathematics teachers to facilitate the modernization of mathematics education; to facilitate the implementation and integration of the NCTM *Standards* into the mathematics curriculum in East Baton Rouge and surrounding parishes; to enhance teaching, learning, assessment effectiveness, and the learning environment by the utilization of the best of educational technology; and to institutionalize in teacher education courses the changes recommended by the MAA in *A Call for Change*.

The principal goals of the program are:

1. to provide a model for in-service instruction which integrates content, methods, and technology;
2. to provide teachers with knowledge of and practice in the use of manipulatives and models to facilitate conceptual learning;
3. to enable teachers to use computers and calculators as tools in classroom administration and in the teaching of mathematics;
4. to introduce teachers to the range of educational software available, their sources, and criteria for selection;
5. to provide teachers with a knowledge of the methodologies essential to fostering in their students the development of number sense, problem-solving skills, and critical thinking skills;
6. to enhance the teaching proficiency and assessment methods;
7. to engender in teachers a greater understanding and appreciation of the interconnections of mathematics and the importance of their engendering the same in their students;
8. to enable teachers to communicate mathematical ideas fluently and to facilitate the acquisition of this fluency in their students;
9. to provide teachers with the content knowledge in mathematics needed to give them confidence and enthusiasm in their presentation of mathematics;
10. to facilitate permanent change at the school and parish level consistent with the guidelines established by NCTM in its two documents on curriculum and teaching standards.[3]

Comprehensive Work Plan

The project spans three weeks during the summer with four additional workshops in the academic year. Frequent on-site visits by the site coordinator are made during the academic year. Unique course methodology involves a six step, iterative teaching-and-learning process. The first step takes participants through the content found in the pertinent curriculum in a manner proposed by NCTM. The second step repeats step one utilizing grade-appropriate technology and manipulatives. The third step extends the knowledge base of participants in content areas related to the targeted curriculum in a manner consistent with MAA's *A Call for Change*. Step four requires participants to plan and present mathematical content using methodologies consistent with earlier steps. This involves participants in modeling cooperative learning, and the resulting presentations are made at workshop during the academic year. The fifth step involves on-site collaboration with principals and supervisors from the targeted schools to facilitate and monitor implementation of the summer component. The final stage involves workshops designed to institutionalize the changes identified and validated during the earlier steps of the project. Workshops are held for the participants' principals in the summer and during the academic year to ensure support of the participants in their efforts to implement reform in their respective schools.

Objectives for Participants

By completion of the project year, the participants will have:

1. gained insight into the power of mathematical discussion to ascertain the why's and how's of mathematics;
2. emphasized activities involving estimation and mental computation by the study of the differences in structure and function of various number systems;
3. developed a greater sense of security, confidence, and enthusiasm in the teaching of mathematics, thereby enhancing its learning;
4. developed an understanding of appropriate areas of calculation and computers to enhance reasoning, visual, and problem solving skills;
5. experienced hands-on use of the computer for classroom management;
6. developed an appreciation of the computer as a demonstration tool for teachers and as a laboratory instrument for students;
7. gained experience in modeling mathematics problems with manipulatives;
8. enhanced their awareness of diversity issues involved in teaching and learning styles of students.

Plan of Operation/Management Plan

The director manages the project with active participation of two faculty members, two secondary school teachers, and a full-time site coordinator. The close collaboration of the director, faculty, secondary school teachers, and the site coordinator assure coherence and continuity in content as well as methodology throughout the project. Weekly staff meetings are held during the summer for the purpose of assessing the project based on feedback from daily journal entries of participants.

Two courses are offered in conjunction with the project. The first, principles of algebra for secondary school teachers, emphasizes cooperative learning using the Harvard Consortium method of the "Rule of Three."[4] Several members of the staff have been teaching the algebra course as a pilot for a calculus consortium. Graphing calculators, computer software, and hands-on manipulatives are used to give conceptual insight and understanding of the Theory of Algebra concepts. Less emphasis is placed on algorithms. Because emphasis is placed on solving problems of the real world, algorithms are utilized only as tools for better understanding.

The second course offered in conjunction with Project MIME, principles of geometry, is taught in the same spirit as the algebra course. The computer software Geometer's Sketchpad is used to study geometry inductively by investigation: experimenting, probing, and analyzing theory. Several concepts are studied simultaneously, and constructions are done by ruler and compass as well as by computer. Projects focus on concepts and constructions which are not easily understood in order to ensure basic understanding. This includes work toward basic understanding of proofs, both direct and indirect.

During each course sessions described above, the participants model teaching strategies of group learning while also modeling various assessment techniques. Among the assessment techniques modeled are oral interviews, observations, group assessment, portfolios, and individual assessments. Participants work in groups of four or five and are involved in discussions and hands-on experience. They plan, develop, and model units of lesson plans for their pertinent grade levels using state-of-the-art manipulatives, calculators, and computer software. Another integral part of the project is, as with previous projects, the reading and critical analysis of articles from professional journals in mathematics education, such as *Teaching Children Mathematics, The Mathematics Teacher*, and other periodicals.

Academic Year Program

During the academic year, four workshops are conducted. The workshops are planned by the site coordinator and conducted by the staff, the participants, and invited professionals. During these workshops, the participants have the opportunity to give classroom demonstrations on content as well as methodology and to get feedback on their students' use of calculators, computers, and manipulatives in their classrooms during the academic year. They are able to use the computer laboratory and receive further instruction and prepare for the sessions in their classes. They also use this time to

share successes and failures and assess their procedures with the staff and other participants.

Recruitment

Recruitment is done as much as possible through the principals, supervisors of the targeted parishes, and past participants of prior Southern University LaSIP projects. Recruitment brochures are sent to parish, private and state supervisors of the parishes of West Baton Rouge, Iberville, East and West Feliciana, Ascension, Tangipahoa, and East Baton Rouge. An attempt is made to recruit a minimum of two teachers from a school in order to encourage continuity and support of reform in teaching. Principals are asked to commit to the support of reform teaching by signing the application forms of participants from their respective schools, and by giving teachers the necessary time to develop course syllabi for reform teaching.

Evaluation

The project is evaluated both internally and externally relative to administrative and instructional progress toward project goals. Formative evaluation will be on-going, and a summative evaluation will be conducted at the termination of the project. Review components are as follows: 1) an external review conducted at the end of each project year by LaSIP; 2) daily journal entries by participants to evaluate each course as to completeness, understanding and clarity of the subject matter covered. An overall evaluation of the summer component is conducted at the end of each summer; 3) each day of the training session, a summary of the daily journal commentary is distributed to the staff. This information is used by the staff to make adjustments in content and/or pedagogy necessary to optimize learning and retention of content, and participation in the class activities. Weekly staff meetings during the summer provide additional opportunities for the staff to adjust schedules, coordinate special activities, and address any special needs of participants when necessary; and, 4) the site coordinator makes several visits to observe each participant and students in the classroom. A checklist is used to facilitate data collected. The data contained in the resulting site-visit reports is analyzed, summarized, and transmitted to the staff, advisory council, and external evaluator for their use in determining progress toward attaining program objectives.

Dissemination

The participants from each school are required to demonstrate to other teachers at their respective schools reform methods of teaching learned during the summer session of the project. A timetable is set for these demonstrations and are attended by at least one person from the project staff. They are encouraged to present papers on teaching techniques at conferences to motivate other teachers to enroll in reform programs. The participants are required to demonstrate reform teaching strategies whenever the site coordinator visits the school. After each visit the site coordinator presents a report to the project staff.

Conclusion

The implications of Project MIME for educational reform are substantial. The participants have realized that instruction is not a homogenous system driven by standards and assessment, but rather, it involves several related systems: teachers' knowledge, values and commitments; reflection on classroom practice; learning from one another; and continuing professional development. The participants shift roles from transmitters of facts to facilitators of learning who create an environment and provide materials that allow students to actively explore and make their own connections. As a result, teachers report a sense of personal excitement in teaching mathematics from a different approach. They search for new materials which will stimulate students to learn in an interactive environment, in their own way, at their own pace.

Notes

[1]National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM), Curriculum and Evaluation Standards for School Mathematics (Reston, VA: The Council, 1989).

[2]Conference Proceedings, *Goals 2000: Educate America Act* (Louisiana Goals 2000, 1994).

[3]Mathematical Association of America. *A Call For Change: Recommendations for the Mathematical Preparation of Teachers* (Washington, D.C.: MAA, 1991).

[4]Deborah Hughes-Hallett, Andrew Gleason, et al. *Calculus: Harvard Consortium Calculus* (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1992)

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The Implementation of Radical Constructivism within the Urban Mathematics Classroom

by Randy Lattimore

One of the most serious problems in mathematics education continues to be the dismal statewide mathematics proficiency test performance of African-American students in urban schools.[1] It has been argued that one of the best ways to improve performance is by connecting the pedagogy of mathematics to the lives and experiences of these students.[2] Although many theories have been implemented in the urban mathematics classroom to assist African-American students in developing and increasing conceptual understanding, members of the urban mathematics education community should take a closer, more serious look at the implementation of radical constructivism within urban mathematics classrooms.

A number of scholars, including Joyce Ladner in sociology, James Cone in theology, Robert L. Allen in political science, James A. Banks in education, Derrick A. Bell Jr. in law, and William F. Tate in mathematics education have moved beyond the traditional paradigmatic boundaries of their respective fields to provide a more cogent analysis of the African-American experience.[3] This boundary crossing represents a significant theoretical and interpretive resource to the academic community. This article moves beyond the traditional boundaries of the field of mathematics education and examines radical constructivism as an adequate research framework for learning mathematics in the urban mathematics classroom.

Radical Constructivism: Meaning and Assumptions

Radical constructivism is a dismantling of Western epistemological tradition. It is an unorthodox way of closely scrutinizing the conceptual underpinnings of Western tradition. Radical constructivism questions deeply rooted notions assumed to be grounded in truth, knowledge, representation, and reality. Because the dismantling of traditional theory and ideology is unpopular, proponents of this theory may be considered heretics, at least in terms of the usual course of evolution of Western tradition. The fundamental tenet of the radical constructivist position is that mathematics is not a pre-existing body of knowledge waiting to be discovered, but rather it is something which is personally constructed by individuals in an active way, inwardly and idiosyncratically, as they seek to give meaning to socially accepted notions of what can be regarded as mathematical knowledge. Ernst Von Glasersfeld, an advocate of the radical constructivist position in mathematics education, states:

> knowledge is the result of an individual subject's constructive activity, not a commodity that somehow resides outside the knower and can be conveyed or instilled by diligent perception or linguistic communication.[4]

According to von Glasersfeld, good teachers know the guidance which they give students "necessarily remains tentative and cannot ever approach absolute determination" because, from the constructivist point of view, there is more than one solution to a problem, and problem-solvers must approach problem situations from different perspectives.[5]

The cornerstone of radical constructivist theory is Piaget's emphasis on action (that is to say, all behavior that changes the knower-known relationship) as the basis of knowledge. An individual gets to know the real world only through action.[6]

As Paul Cobb has underscored, the crucial issue is not whether mathematics teachers *should allow* students to construct their knowledge, "for the simple reason that to learn is to actively construct." Rather, Cobb said, "the issue concerns the social and physical characteristics of settings in which students can productively construct mathematical knowledge."[7]

During the past ten years, the impact of radical constructivist thinking on mathematics education researchers and, increasingly, on teachers of mathematics in schools, has been considerable. Notwithstanding certain tensions between theory and practice, there has been a wave of research aimed at identifying the roles of teachers of mathematics who wish to adopt radical constructivist approaches.[8] It is appropriate, therefore, to pause for a moment not only to reflect on whether the claims of radical constructivism with respect to mathematics education are justifiable, but also to assess which aspects of the applications of radical constructivist thinking can be beneficial in the urban mathematics classroom and which are less beneficial.

Members of the urban mathematics education community should take a closer, more serious look at Nerida Ellerton and McKenzie Clements' three-point rationale for the use of radical constructivism in the urban mathematics classroom.[9] Ellerton and Clements propose the following:

1. Ownership of Mathematics by the Learner. A simple way of summarizing the radical constructivist position in mathematics education is in terms of the notions of ownership. A principle of radical constructivism is that, ultimately, mathematical knowledge is not something that is acquired by listening to teachers or reading textbooks, but is something that learners themselves construct through actively seeking

out, and making, mental connections. When someone actively links aspects of her or his physical and social environments with certain numerical, spatial, and logical concepts a feeling of ownership may be generated. In such cases a learner is likely to make comments such as "I know this because I worked it out myself."

Radical constructivism notion of ownership is powerfully relevant to school mathematics. It has been maintained that previously, too much emphasis was placed on a linguistic communication pattern by which the teacher explained to students what they had to do, and how they could do it. Few mathematics educators would deny that traditionally, school mathematics has been regarded by students as a fixed body of knowledge, owned by the teachers, textbook and worksheet writers, external examiners, and by great, mysterious figures of the past such as Pythagoras and Euclid. During the 1980s, however, constructivist mathematics educators around the world called for teachers to establish teaching and learning environments in which students, as a matter of course, created mathematics themselves and therefore came to feel that they owned the mathematics they were learning.[10]

2. Quality Social Interaction as the Basis for Quality Mathematics Learning. Neil A. Pateman and David C. Johnson claimed that it has been "constructivist" teachers of mathematics who led the recent movement towards establishing mathematics learning environments that nurture interest and understanding through cooperation and high quality social interaction.[11] Such environments are likely to foster a kind of socio-cognitive conflict and challenge that stimulate learning. Pateman and Johnson maintained, as did Leslie P. Steffe, that children construct their own actions. Their reflections on those actions (in social settings) provide a framework for those responsible for devising mathematics curricula and school mathematics programs.

According to Pateman and Johnson: Content can hardly be rigidly prescribed in advance by the constructivist teacher, neither can methodology which probably needs to be idiosyncratic to children and context, or even assessment. The constructivist teacher will need to be somewhat of an opportunist, and also an able elementary mathematician willing to continue to learn both about mathematics and children in the attempt to develop them as autonomous creators of their own mathematics.[12]

The implication is that this will call for richer, more expressive, interaction patterns in mathematics classrooms. Steffe articulated ten principles for the mathematics curriculum design that are in keeping with the main radical constructivist thrusts and identified the following social norms for worthwhile whole-class discussion in mathematics classrooms:[13]

- Explaining how an instructional activity that a small group has completed was interpreted and solved.
- Listening and trying to make sense of explanations given by others.
- Indicating agreement, disagreement, or failure to understand the interpretations and solutions of others.
- Attempting to justify a solution and questioning alternatives in situations where a conflict between interpretations or solutions has become apparent.

Perhaps experienced teachers imagine these norms already apply in whole-class discussions that occur in their own classroom, but classroom analyses indicate that this is rarely the case.[14]

Cobb called for constructivist mathematics educators to develop a new context—a "mathematico-anthropological context"—that will assist coherent discussion on the specifics of learning and teaching mathematics.[15] According to Cobb, there is research support for moving to establish mathematics classroom environments that incorporate the following qualities:

- Learning should be an interactive as well as a constructive activity—that is to say, there should always be ample opportunity for creative discussion, in which each learner has a genuine voice.
- Presentation and discussion of conflicting points of view should be encouraged.
- Reconstructions and verbalization of mathematical ideas and solutions should be commonplace.
- Students and teachers should learn to distance themselves from ongoing activities in order to understand alternative interpretations or solutions.
- The need to work towards a consensus in which various mathematical ideas are coordinated are recognized.

Many teachers of mathematics would accept all five of these points. Nevertheless, much needs to be done, for too often in school mathematics, rhetoric and classroom realities do not bear much resemblance to each other.[16] The principles of radical constructivism are poised to refine and apply these ideas to mathematics classrooms however difficult and time-consuming this process might prove to be.[17]

3. Principles for Improved Mathematics Discourse. Radical constructivism is a theory that should assist in the establishment of learning environments that result in students owning the mathematics they learn. There have been positive features arising from the application of radical constructivist theories to mathematics education, though these are all related to the ownership issue. These pluses were summarized by Cobb whose writings attempted to draw together the threads of the constructivist movement in mathematics education. Cobb and colleagues at Purdue University, sought to explore how the theoretical positions held by radical constructivists might most advantageously be interpreted in mathematics classrooms.[18]

In the second half of the 1980s, there was a veritable flood of education literature on the nature of discourse in mathematics classrooms.[19] Cobb summarized research which attempted to assess the effectiveness of the applications of radical constructivist ideas to mathematics teaching and learning.[20] Cobb makes five points:

a) To claim that students can discover mathematics on their own is an absurdity.

b) Students do not learn mathematics by internalizing it from objects, pictures, or the like. Mathematics is not a property of learning materials, in other words.

c) The pedagogical wisdom of the traditional pattern of first teaching mathematical rules and skills, and then providing opportunities to apply these real life situations, is questionable. An alternative approach takes seriously the observation that from a historical perspective, pragmatic informal mathematical problem-solving constituted the basis from which formal, codified mathematics evolved.

d) The teacher should not legitimize just any conceptual action that a student might construct to resolve a personal mathematical problem. This is because mathematics is, from an anthropological perspective, a normative conceptual activity, and learning mathematics can be seen as a process of acculturation into that practice. Cobb notes that certain other societies and social groups have developed routine arithmetical practices that differ from those taught in Western schools.[21]

e) Mathematical thought is a process by which we act on conceptual objects that are themselves a product of our prior conceptual actions. From the very beginning of primary schooling, students should participate in, and contribute to, a communal mathematical practice that has as its focus the existence, nature of, and relationships between mathematical objects.

For Cobb, understanding mathematics is constructing and acting on what he calls "taken-to-be-shared" mathematical objects.[22] The statements identified in this section of the article refer to important developments in mathematics education that can be linked, at least partly, to the radical constructivist movement.

Conclusion

This essay proposes the implementation of radical constructivism within the urban mathematics classroom. The relatively simple concept of radical constructivism becomes a crucial aspect of mathematics education given the dismal statewide proficiency test performance in urban mathematics classrooms. Moreover, radical constructivism is a viable theory for improving mathematics test performance of African-American students. Rather than ignoring or devaluing their life experiences, radical constructivism redefines teaching and creates environments that connect mathematics pedagogy to the lives and experiences of African-American students.

Notes

[1]Randy Lattimore, *Assessing the Mathematical Competence of African American Tenth Graders in Preparation for a Mathematics Proficiency Test: A Qualitative Study* (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1996).

[2]William F. Tate, "Race, Retrenchment, and the Reform of School Mathematics," *Phi Delta Kappan* 75 (1994), 477-484.

[3]Robert L. Allen, *Reluctant Reformers: the Impact of Racism on American Social Reform Movements* (Washington, DC: Howard University, 1974); James A. Banks, "Relevant Social Studies for Black Pupils." in James. A. Banks & William W. Joyce, eds., *Teaching Social Studies to Culturally Different Children* (Menlo Park, CA: Addison Wesley, 1971), 202–209; Derrick A. Bell Jr., *Race, Racism and American Law* 2nd ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980); James Cone, *a Black Theology of Liberation* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1970); Joyce Ladner, *The Death of White Sociology* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973); William F. Tate, Gloria Ladson-Billings, and Carl A. Grant, "The Brown Decision Revisited: Mathematizing Social Problems," *Educational Policy*, 7 (1993), 255–275.

[4]Ernst von Glasersfeld, "Environment and Communication" in Leslie P. Steffe & Terry Wood, eds., *Transforming Children's Mathematics Education: International Perspectives* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1990), 37.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Hermine Sinclair, "Learning: the Interactive Recreation of Knowledge" in Leslie P. Steffe & Terry Wood, eds., *Transforming Children's Mathematics Education: International Perspectives* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1990), 19-29.

[7]Paul Cobb, "Reconstructing Elementary School Mathematics," *Focus on Learning Problems in Mathematics* 13(2) (1991), 5.

[8]Terry Wood and Erna Yackel, "The Development of Collaborative Dialogue Within Small Group Interaction" in Leslie P. Steffe and Terry Wood, eds., *Transforming Children's Mathematics Education: International Perspectives* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1990), 244-252.

[9]Nerida Ellerton and McKenzie A. Clements, "Some Pluses and Minuses of Radical Constructivism in Mathematics Education." Paper Presented at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Mathematics Education Research Group of Australia, University of Western Sydney Hawkesbury, 1992.

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[13]Steffe. *Transforming Children's Mathematics Education: International Perspectives*; Cobb, "Reconstructing Elementary School Mathematics," 208.

[14]See for example Ellerton and Clements, "Some Pluses and Minuses of Radical Constructivism," 1992. Robert B. Davis, Carolyn A. Maher, and Nel Noddings, eds., *Journal for Research in Mathematics Education* Monograph Number 4 (Reston, Va: National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, 1990) and Magdalene Lampert, "The Teacher's Role in Reinventing the Meaning of Mathematical Knowing in the Classroom." in Merylon J. Behr, Carole B. Lacampagne, and Margariete M. Wheeler, eds., *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the North American Chapter of the International Group for the Psychology of Mathematics Education* (Dekalb, Il: Northern Illinois University, 1988).

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[16]Charles Desforges, "Classroom Processes and Mathematical Discussions: A Cautionary Note." in P. Ernest, ed., *Mathematics Teaching: the State of the Art* (East Sussex: Falmer Press, 1989), 143-150.

[17]Leslie P. Steffe, "Mathematics Curriculum Design." in Leslie P. Steffe and Terry Wood, eds., *Transforming Children's Mathematics Education: International Perspectives*, 389-398.

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[20]Cobb, 1991.

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Help Wanted: Building Coalitions Between African-American Student Athletes, High Schools, and the NCAA

by Patiste M. Gilmore

This essay focusses on a topic of intense debate emerging over the last several years: strategies to improve the academic preparedness of collegiate student athletes. The issue should have been resolved with the passage of Proposition 48 in 1986. This measure stipulated that first-year students who wanted to compete in intercollegiate athletics Division I institutions must meet three requirements:

- Completion of high school core curriculum.
- Achieve a minimum grade point average of 2.0 (on a 4.0 scale).
- Earn a combined score of 700 on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), or score 15 or better on the American College Test (ACT).

Proposition 48, which was passed by the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), proved to be a divisive measure, which has led to a flurry of debates in the world of education and athletics. The opponents of Proposition 48 were primarily Black coaches and prominent civil rights leaders, such as Jesse Jackson, and former National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) president, Benjamin Hooks. These individuals and others believed that Proposition 48 was racist in its intentions because of the stipulation that required student athletes to score a minimum score of 700 on the SAT. Their argument was that African-Americans have had a long history of scoring poorly on standardized tests, such as the SAT primarily due to cultural bias. Many young African-American athletes were seen as not having the opportunity to strengthen their academic career, after years of special treatment and benign neglect by teachers throughout their educational career prior to college entrance.

Supporters of Proposition 48 were primarily college presidents and educators, such as noted sport sociologist Dr. Harry Edwards and former president of both the Athletic Congress and United States Olympic Committee, Dr. Leroy Walker. Edwards stated that Proposition 48 "communicates to young athletes, beginning with those who are sophomores in high school, that we expect them to develop academically as well as athletically."[1] When Walker was asked if African-American student athletes should be exempted from Proposition 48, his response was, "You're asking me to tell all Black high school [students], you're too dumb to get a C average. Too dumb to get a 700 on the boards. I don't feel inclined to do that."[2]

The debate between the two sides raised three fundamental questions. First, why has the responsibility of educating the student athlete fallen upon the shoulders of colleges and universities rather than high schools? Secondly, what partnership should colleges and universities share, if any, in preparing student athletes for higher education? Lastly, what schooling factors are responsible for the academic achievement of high school student athletes?

Life Before Proposition 48

Prior to 1986 the only NCAA rule on an athlete's college admission and eligibility for an athletic scholarship was C or a 2.0 (on a 4.0 scale) overall average in high school. Depending on the player's secondary education, the C average could be meaningful or not. Since, as former major league pitcher Jim Bouton says, "your outstanding jock has been on athletic scholarship since the third grade," and has received special treatment from teachers along the way, most often the athlete's C average means zero in regards to academic qualifications or aptitude.[3] However, the role of a student athlete takes on a significantly different dynamic when the issue of race is involved. "By the time many Black student athletes finish their junior high sports eligibility and move on to high school, so little has been demanded of them academically that no one any longer expects anything of them intellectually."[4] The end result is a group of educationally dysfunctional African-American student athletes who are poorly prepared to handle the rigor of a college education.

The embarrassment on the part of numerous universities whose acceptance of student athletes with less than glowing academic credentials was a motivation to raise standards. A notable example is the case of a student athlete at Creighton University who was found to have a third grade reading level when he completed his athletic eligibility. These kinds of situations forced many university presidents to consider lobbying the NCAA to increase its academic standards. The outcome was the passage of Proposition 48.

Why Universities Must Bear the Burden

Universities have been slow to help secondary school students prepare for higher education. The responsibility for gaining admittance to a college or university has been that of the school and family. The NCAA acted as if the standards created by the passage of Proposition 48 would make their way to all schools and families. This however has not been the case. Some schools have done a better job of informing African-American student athletes about classes and test scores needed to avoid being designated a "Proposition 48 casualty." However, a majority of the student athletes affected by Proposition 48 attended high

schools with inadequate teaching resources and come from families who may not have enough information about attending college. Marcus Mabry notes along this line that:

> Often promising athletes, a large proportion of them African-Americans, arrive on campus with one thing in mind: playing their sport and playing it well. They are often from disadvantaged backgrounds. Many...are the first people in their families to go to college. The students and their parents are unfamiliar with college and often at the mercy of the coaches who direct them.[5]

But athletics are important for the academic achievement of some students as noted by several studies.[6] These studies found that participation in athletics had a positive effect on groups that are "underprivileged," a label commonly attached to African-Americans who have a low socioeconomic status. These studies suggest that the association must take a more proactive role in assuring that African-American student athletes are not continually exploited by NCAA member universities for their athletic labor. It is not appropriate to bring players to their campuses without giving them a fair chance at completing a college education. This position must be the focus of the NCAA's call for higher standards.

Partnerships Between Universities and High Schools

NCAA member universities can play a more effective role in developing the educational abilities of African-American athletes. There are at least two suggestions offered here that can be instituted to help raise the academic preparedness of African-American student athletes.

College students can be employed and/or given class credit for helping African-American high school athletes improve their academic skills. Involving college students also represents important mentoring for the high school students. It provides a linkage between high school and college. An effort like this should also be funded by the NCAA.

Secondly, universities and school districts need to educate current and future middle and secondary school teachers on how to educate African-American student athletes. In-service teaching sessions provide excellent opportunities to pass this information on to high school teachers. Here too, the NCAA can play a positive role by providing literature and workshops to college students who are enrolled in teacher education programs. Teachers need to become more aware of the problems that befall African-American student athletes.

High Schools Cannot Do the Job Alone

The current academic assistance programs instituted by NCAA member universities are misguided though well-intentioned because they confront the problem after it occurs. Proposition 48 punishes students who attend schools that do not have the resources or commitment to educate their African-American athletes. But the NCAA does have the resources to make a substantial impact on African-American athletes. Reaching out to secondary schools and developing programs to help African-American athletes at that level will give student athletes a better chance to be successful academically when they enter the university. Secondary schools desperately need help from outside sources, such as universities and the NCAA. The NCAA must realize that, unfortunately for African-American student athletes, many high schools are deficient in the education process. Many of the students recruited to participate in "big-time" college athletics are from schools that are not only ill-equipped to handle the needs of its student athletes but those of other students as well. The implementation of the suggestions outlined above could position the NCAA to help high schools improve for all students.

The NCAA should no longer be able to exploit students from poor high schools without developing opportunities for their athletes to become competent and competitive college students. The NCAA operates as a non-profit organization; however, the organization is not using its enormous resources and profits to support and sustain the foundation of their riches. Pressure must be placed on the association to provide the support needed by African-American student athletes and all others who need assistance to be successful. If the NCAA and its member universities are to hold true to its standards set by Proposition 48, they must take a more proactive role in helping to educate student athletes, especially when they have the economic resources to do so. David L. Smith, president of SET Communications Inc., and a former college and professional athlete stated that "the decline of academic achievement among many of America's talented and gifted athletes has accelerated. This in the midst of the NCAA being in the early stages of a television broadcast contract that will pay them $1 billion over seven years." Furthermore, he mentions that "the multi-billion dollar sports industry has grown at the expense of the intellectual, emotional, social, and economic needs of its participants. The sports industry has merged into the entertainment industry on the backs of free athletic talent."[7]

The population that is most affected by Proposition 48 is the same one that is participating in and dominating the two sports that creates enormous profit for the NCAA—football and basketball. Many would call the relationship between the NCAA and the African-American community exploitive; however, the NCAA would rather believe that it is providing access to higher education for those who typically could not afford it. Somewhere in the middle lies the truth. The NCAA remains in an unequal partnership with the African-American community; the organization takes the community's most precious resource without returning that investment. This essay offers a few thoughts about how this situation can change for the benefit of student athletes and other students and in ways that enhance the quality of secondary schooling in many places.

Notes

[1]E. M. Swift, "Propping up Student Athletes" *Sports Illustrated* 81. 23 (November 5, 1994), 88.

[2]Murry Sperber, *College Sports Inc.* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1990), 217.

[3]Harry Edwards, "The Black 'Dumb Jock': an American Sports Tragedy," *The College Board Review* 131 (Spring 1984), 9.

[4]Marcus Mabry, "When the Game Is Over: Exploitation of Black Athletes in College, *Black Collegian* 23.4 (1993), 81.

[5]Jomills Henry Braddock, "Race, Sports and Social Mobility: a Critical Review," *Sociological Symposium* 30 (1980).

[6]See Steven J. Picou and Sean Hwang, "Educational Aspirations of 'Academically-disadvantaged' Athletes," *Journal of Sport Behavior*, 5.2 (1981); Braddock, "Race, Sports and Social Mobility," 1980.

[7]Mabry, 81.

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A Phenomenon of Religious Relevance Developing at Predominantly White Institutions

by Donald Brown

In a recent conversation with a colleague at a neighboring institution, we reflected that in the nearly twenty-five years that we have worked at predominantly white universities, little has changed with respect to Black students dissatisfaction with campus life. Since the 1960's, a considerable amount of research has been done on the causes of attrition among Black students in higher education. A number of themes have emerged as causative factors of dissatisfaction and, in far too many cases, attrition among Black students. Three themes, however, seem to re-surface repeatedly. They are the feelings of alienation, isolation and loneliness.

Many Black students feel divorced from the mainstream of campus life in predominantly white campuses. Donald H. Smith's research attests to the alienation felt by Black students on predominantly white campuses. In his study of seven predominantly white institutions, he found that two of the premier causes of attrition among Black students were feelings of alienation and isolation. His research led him to conclude the following: "Blacks perceive their environment to be hostile. They must attempt to deal with loneliness and alienation at the same time that they are trying to adjust to a largely foreign milieu."[1]

Mary Frances Berry captures the plight of Black students on predominantly white campuses by offering this insight:

> Their classroom days are filled with isolation, exclusion from informal repartee among white students and being ignored by professors. They seek haven in Black fraternities, sororities, and Black student organizations, not because they want to isolate themselves, but because they feel unprotected and unwanted.[2]

In a comparative study of Black student satisfaction with social and cultural programming on predominantly Black vs. predominantly white campuses, Walter R. Allen found that nearly two thirds of Black students surveyed at predominantly Black institutions enjoyed the campuses' social and cultural programs while the opposite held true for those students surveyed at predominantly white institutions.[3]

Against the backdrop of alienation and isolation, it is refreshing to see that one of the things occurring at predominantly white institutions across the country is that Black students are beginning to take matters into their own hands with respect to developing social and cultural programs that respond to their needs. Two examples of this have been the formation of gospel choirs and the increased attendance of Sunday morning worship services by college students. In the greater Boston area virtually every campus has a college choir. In fact, at one time or another during the academic year, each of these choirs conducts what is generally referred to as a Gospel Fest. One of the features of these Gospel Fests is that of inviting a Gospel Choir from a neighboring institution. Hence, students from Boston College's Voices of Imani get a chance to meet and to hear from students who sing with Harvard University's Kuumba singers, or Boston University's Inner Strength Gospel Choir, or Tufts University's Essence Gospel Choir.

From this writer's point of view, when the full story of Black student retention and success is told, it is again, the Black community's strongest institution, the Church that will be recognized as playing a critically important role. In my opinion, this has actually been the anchor that has steadied multitudes of Black students who have contemplated dropping out of school when feelings of alienation, isolation and loneliness have become unbearable.

Marvalene Styles Hughes highlighted the important role that religion plays in the lives of Black students attending predominantly Black and predominantly white colleges and universities.[4] On asking Black students at both types of institutions an open-ended question aimed at determining what contributes to their success in college, an equal number of students cited their religious faith and practices as being critically important. Among sample statements from students indicating that religious beliefs contributed to their persistence, retention and success were the following:

- When everything comes tumbling down or closing in on me, I remember to have faith in God to pull me through.
- I pray a lot and encourage my family to pray for me.
- I attribute much of my resilience to God and agape Christian fellowship for encouragement.

These are not isolated statements, but reflective of the thoughts of many successful Black students.

Several Black churches in the Greater Boston Black community actively assist and support Black collegians in their journey toward earning college degrees. Among just a few churches that aid Black students by way of providing scholarships and other forms of financial assistance, hosting College Fellowship Ministries, or just providing a home away from home are the Twelfth Baptist Church, Union United Methodist Church, and New Covenant Christian Center, all three in Boston, as well as the St. Paul A.M.E., Union Baptist, and the

Massachusetts Avenue Baptist Churches in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

One congregation, the Massachusetts Avenue Baptist Church of Cambridge, provides a transportation service called the Gospel Caravan which affords college students attending area colleges and universities an opportunity to attend Sunday morning worship service. In addition, every fourth Sunday has been set aside as College Day. On College Day, the service is officiated by college students and a gospel choir from one of the area colleges or universities sings. Following morning service, the college students are treated to a home-cooked meal and words of encouragement from parishioners who, though themselves may not have had the benefit of a college education, recognize how important it is that young Black men and women acquire the skills needed in an increasingly competitive world and provide future leadership in the Black community.

I offer this recommendation. While student affairs professionals at predominantly white institutions speak about the importance of educating the whole person, their offices do very little by way of helping Black students to connect with houses of worship in the Black community. This in my judgment is a mistake as I am convinced that the support that comes as a result of leaving one's campus and attending a worship service in the community, goes a long way in helping Black students.

Student affairs professionals would be wise to encourage and to assist Black students who wish to start choirs, or other initiatives which speak to their cultural needs. Equally important, transportation should be provided to those students who wish to leave campus on Sunday morning to attend a church service. In my opinion, the support and encouragement received from elders, and other members of the church family, provides Black students with the stamina needed to persist in an environment that all too often is inhospitable, alienating, isolating and lonely.

Notes

[1]Donald H. Smith, "Admissions and Retention Problems of Black Students at Seven Predominantly White Universities." A Report of the *National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities*, 1988.

[2]Mary Frances Berry, "Blacks in Predominantly White Institutions," *The State of Black America: The Nation Urban League Report*, (January, 1983).

[3]Walter R. Allen, National Study of Black College Students. A Report of the Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1982.

[4]Marvalene Styles Hughes, "Black Students' Participation in Higher Education," *Journal of College Student Personnel* 28 (1987), 532-545.

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An Interview with Dr. Clarence G. Williams, Special Assistant to the President for Minority Affairs, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

by Harold W. Horton

Harold W. Horton: Dr. Williams, sincere thanks for granting the *Trotter Review* an opportunity to dialogue with you about race and affirmative action in higher education in America. Let's begin by having you share with our readers some general biographical information about yourself.

Clarence G. Williams: It is with pleasure, as well as with a sense of urgency, that I dialogue with you on the critical issue of race and affirmative action in higher education in America. I was born and reared in Goldsboro, North Carolina and in 1961 received a Bachelor of Arts degree from North Carolina Central University. In 1967 I completed a Master of Arts degree at Hampton University (Institute).

In 1972 I was the recipient of a Ph.D. degree in Higher Education Administration and Counseling Psychology from the University of Connecticut in Storrs, Connecticut. During that same year, I was appointed Assistant Dean of the Graduate School at MIT. In 1974, I was promoted to Special Assistant to the President and Chancellor for Minority Affairs. Currently I am also an adjunct professor of Urban Studies and Planning at MIT. I am also completing another book.

HWH: With regard to recruiting, retaining and graduating Black students, how would you compare what traditionally, and predominantly white institutions of higher education are doing to those efforts of historically black colleges and universities?

CGW: I have been an administrator and teacher in higher education for 33 years, and for most of that time I have been fortunate enough to be at one of the most prestigious historically white institutions (HWIs) in the world, hence I have observed this matter very closely. Since 1968—after the riots in the cities and the assassination of Dr. Martin L. King, Jr.—most HWIs have recruited and maintained the presence of a small number of Black students on their campuses over the years to the present. On the other hand, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) did so long before 1968 and continue to lead the nation in awarding African-Americans baccalaureate degrees each year.

The latest statistics in *Black Issues in Higher Education*, in the July 9, 1998 edition, verify my point. Thank God for the Herculean job of the HBCUs! So, in some ways even though, historically, HBCUs have carried the bulk of the share of productivity related to Black degree holders, the fact is that a steady stream of young Blacks continue to be educated in HWIs as well as HBCUs.

HWH: It appears that some states, as well as some institutions of higher education, are retreating from the policies and practices of affirmative action and are declaring the playing field in equal opportunities in employment and education to be leveled off. Do you have concerns regarding this matter?

CGW: My fear is that if we in higher education retreat from affirmative action not only will meritorious Black candidates, but other under-represented minorities will be denied the opportunity to acquire an education at HWIs. This would create an additional burden on HBCUs to carry out the insurmountable task of teaching Black students with far less financial support than HWIs, causing a return to the familiar "separate and equal" theme. Clearly, we must not allow this to transpire; yet, it is in the hands of HWIs to prevent these types of anti-affirmative action propositions and the digression of our progressive strategies in higher education. For me what is most disturbing is a lack of penetration of Black professionals in the mainstream positions on the faculty and the administration of HWIs. Despite the dialogue about recruitment and need for more Black faculty members, there has been a truly insincere commitment and dismal outcome to bring Black faculty members on most college campuses. Over a period of thirty years—1968 to 1998—there has been no marked change in the percentage of Black faculty at colleges and universities in this country.

HWH: To what extent do you believe that people in higher education (e.g., board of trustee members and executive administrators) are seriously committed to inclusion or employing people of color in executive administrative positions? And what is your attitude toward the Milton S. Eisenhower Foundation update of the Kerner Report?

CGW: If trustee members and executive administrators were really sincere, they have had enough time since 1968 to produce Black scholars to halt this totally deceptive claim that "we can't find any qualified Black or Hispanic candidates" for faculty positions. It is shameful and outrageous. Moreover the lack of Black professionals moving into mainstream senior positions, especially line

positions, on college campuses is nearly non-existent except in student affairs, athletics, and specialized social and racially related positions. Vice President for Administration, Vice President for Development, Vice President for Business Administration, Vice President or Director of Alumni Affairs, the General Counsel, and President of the university or college are ranks that still remain, for the most part, forbidden to Blacks in higher education today. It is racial in fact that these two-faced and hypocritical overtures continue to be displayed by the white establishment in higher education.

This is displayed by, on the one hand, verbalizing that they really believe in Black inclusion but, on the other hand, contriving in every imaginable way to not make changes when there are opportunities to do so. For example, we have heard very little in the media about the March 1998 report by the Milton S. Eisenhower Foundation and the Corporation for What Works, entitled "The Millennium National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders." It states that, "With attacks on affirmative action, wage discrimination against African-Americans increased. Studies show that many employers still base hiring decisions on racial stereotypes, preferring white hires over African-American or Hispanic applicants, Hispanics over African-Americans, African-American women over African-American men, and young African-American men least of all." With this in mind, it is also a reality that only white women on faculties and in administrations in higher education have benefitted substantially from affirmative action over the past thirty years.

HWH: You have spoken of racism in higher education. Do you think that pervasive denial has strongly impacted our ability in the academy to think straight about the causes and remedies associated with—this overused word—"racism" in higher education?

CGW: I am totally convinced that we in higher education have backtracked in our efforts to deal effectively with racism, especially as it pertains to Blacks, Hispanics, American Indians, and Asians. Part of the problem is associated with the fact that many of the members of these groups—students, faculty members, and administrators—are blind to the ill effects of racism and continue to play on their mental and general welfare. In other words, many of them in the academy refuse to associate themselves with the less fortunate individuals in their own culture by denying that such racial conditions exist—including denial of their own somewhat less painfully prejudiced environment in higher education. These less fortunate individuals suffer enormous pain from racist acts in our society.

HWH: Are you suggesting that some Black people and other minority groups are somewhat responsible for the inability of institutions of higher learning to deal with these racial inequalities?

CGW: Yes. A prime example is that at MIT some Black and Asian students feel that they have been accepted among their white peers but sooner or later become distressed when they are faced with more direct racial attacks. Moreover, it is simply that Black and other under-represented minorities are not taken seriously anymore. Perhaps what Alexis de Toqueville said applies here, "Evils which are patiently endured when they seem inevitable become intolerable when once the idea of escape from them is suggested." Unfortunately, progress appears to be made too often after there are considerable disruptions such as the riots in 1965 (Watts), 1967, 1968, and 1992. The demands that were made by Black students in the late 1960s and 1970s received attention and results. This is precisely how many of our previous Black faculty members and administrators were recruited to these HWIs, the few beneficiaries of that effort.

HWH: There are a few people who advocate that in America we have moved beyond racism. However, the Kerner Report (1968), Andrew Hacker (in the 1990s) and others strongly contend that there are at least "two nations" in America, one white and one Black. President Clinton's national dialogues on race have been referred to as unnecessary because of the "progress" that has been made in America, economically and politically to resolve that race problem. What do you think, and if progress and change is yet on the racial agenda, what can be done to make this happen?

CGW: It will take a similar kind of struggle—not necessarily the same but equal in magnitude—to change the direction of this downhill slope of the presence of tenure-track Black faculty and mainstream professionals in HWIs. You see, only Blacks and other ill-treated people in higher education—and certainly in our society—can guide us through this maze of racist attitudes, and behaviors. What is extremely difficult for most whites, including my close white colleagues and friends, is that they do not have a clue—although some come closer than others—about the energy that Blacks and perhaps other dark-skinned people of color go through to maintain the equilibrium to compete in the academy. It is incomprehensible how they maintain composure without actually physically striking out at the racial insults identified and processed in their minds each day God allows them to breathe. As Andrew Hacker, in his book *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile and Unequal*, so directly points out, the sense of white superiority still captivates our nation. He contends that it is like a chronic disease, or "almost like a cancer," when he concludes: "there remains an unarticulated suspicion: might there be something about the Black race that suited them for slavery?" This is not to say anyone argues that human bondage was justified. Still the facts that slavery existed for so long and was so taken for granted cannot be erased from American minds. Only Black folks—or those non-Blacks tutored by Blacks—can give meaning to the causes of racism. Remedies can be accomplished only in the unity of all people.

HWH: As you well know, Professor Derrick Bell stated in his book *Faces at the Bottom of the Well*, that racism was a permanent fixture ingrained in American society. In your last comments you expressed a similar thought. Do you believe that it is possible for us in America to honestly face up to racism and cope with it?

CGW: As strongly as my previous words have painted the landscape of higher education, I believe just as strongly that we do have the capacity and the knowledge to demonstrate to our nation how to deal with racism—especially as it affects dark-skinned people in our society. What I am not sure about is the "will power." It is so painful once we get to the fire that we run so fast away once we see the reality of what we have to face. Let me share with you some additional facts in Eisenhower report:

1. Inner cities have become America's poorhouses, and millions of African-Americans and Hispanics, as well as a good number of American Indians and Asian Americans, are today almost locked in them, with little hope of escape. Living in such concentrated poverty can have a devastating effect.

2. America's neighborhoods and schools are resegregating. Two-thirds of African-American students and three-fourths of Hispanic students now attend predominantly minority schools—one third of each group is in intensely segregated schools.

3. States now spend more per year on prisons than on higher education, while 10 years ago spending priorities were just the opposite.

4. In the early 1990s, 1 of 4 young African-American men was in prison on probation or on parole. By the late 1990s, 1 of 3 young African-American men was in prison, on probation or on parole. In a prestigious study of the impact of prison-building, a panel of the National Academy of Sciences concluded that "by itself the criminal justice response to violence could accomplish no more than running in place."

HWH: Professor Cornell West contends that "race matters." The Rev. Jesse Jackson, Sr., in his book said, "keep hope alive." Where do you stand? Deep down in your heart, have you given up on hoping, praying for the best as related to inequality in higher education and in American society?

CGW: No, I have not. Not yet. Many Black and other dark-skinned people have given up on our ability to see and act on an equal basis. I, for one, feel very strongly that we must work extremely hard to demonstrate at home—in the HWIs and our nation—how a nation can strive with a diverse population. This is especially true as we go globally to other countries to teach and preach to them on what we have not done here. I believe that faculty members and key administrators will have to begin developing new strategies to embrace Black and other people of color in leadership roles in the HWIs. If we in higher education are going to be the leaders of tomorrow here and abroad, we will have to begin honest dialogue and actions. I, personally, look forward to working to make this a reality at HWIs.

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